

# INTRODUCTION TO THE KHOEKHOEN / KHOIKHOI PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

THE FOUR PRINCIPAL KHOE TRIBES OF THE MID SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

– Re/CONSTRUCTION OF THE KHOE SOCIO-POLITICAL HIERARCHICAL SYSTEM AND GEO-SPATIAL LOCATION –

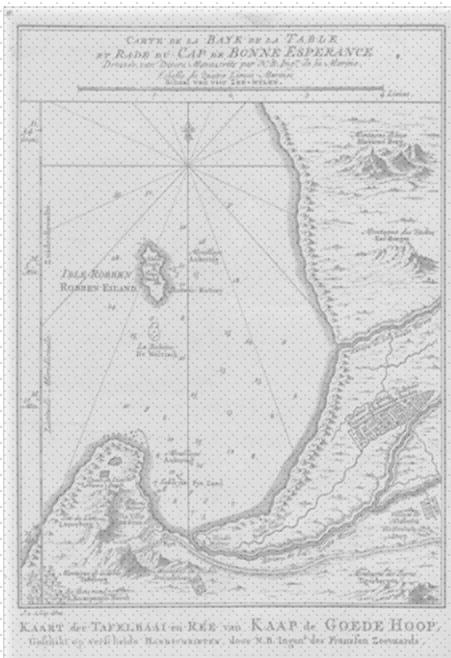
Karen van Ryneveld, ArchaeoMaps, 2025  
MSc Archaeology, WITS UNIVERSITY  
[k.archaeomaps@gmail.com](mailto:k.archaeomaps@gmail.com)

## WHO ARE THE KHOEKHOEN / KHOIKHOI PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA?

The KhoiSan are southern Africa's people of Later Stone Age (LSA) heritage, and comprise two groups (Deacon & Deacon 1999):

- The San—or *Bushmen*—is a hunter-gatherer people who migrated to the southern African region around 25,000 years ago. They are the oldest extant peoples of southern Africa.
- The Khoekhoen / Khoikhoi (shortened as Khoe / Khoi)—or *Hottentot* people—are a pastoralist / herder people who first entered the southern African region around 2,000 years ago, as evidenced by the presence of domesticate (cattle / sheep) faunal remains at archaeological sites.

The San and Khoe share many cultural similarities with the main difference between them being their subsistence strategy: the San subsisted on a hunting and gathering way of life (with meat as their staple) while the Khoe subsisted on their domestic stock (with milk as their staple).



## THE VEEENIGDE OOSTINDISCHE COMPAGNIE (VOC) AND DUTCH SETTLEMENT AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1652

In pursuit of their seventeenth century trade operations both the Dutch and the English had called at Table Bay / the Cape of Good Hope. The operations of Holland in the Far East were controlled by the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC). The VOC was the wealthiest and most powerful corporation at the time with charter rights that allowed them to enter into treaties, built fortresses, appoint governors and enlist troops (Noble 1877).

The advantages of the Cape had also been obvious to the English East India Company (EEIC), but their commercial interest at the time was focused on the West Indies and the Virginian settlements (Noble 1877).

It was, thus, the VOC who took possession of the Cape in 1652 with the purpose to establish a port of call for their homeward and outward-bound fleets, to refit ships and obtain fresh water and produce. The VOC expedition was led by the commander Jan Van Riebeeck (1619–1677), who held command at the Cape for 10 years, 1652–1662. Under the command of Van Riebeeck a fort was built, a small settlement centered on the growth of wheat and the cultivation of fresh produce was established and relations—aimed at obtaining meat for passing ships—were entered into with native Khoi tribes (Noble 1877).

The early Dutch records of Van Riebeeck's time contain valuable information on the Khoi—albeit cryptic in many cases—collected by the Dutch during trade negotiations. The re/construction of the Khoi's four-tiered socio-political hierarchical system and geo-spatial location of the mid seventeenth century is based on the early Dutch records of 1652–1662.

# THE FOUR-TIERED SOCIO-POLITICAL HIERARCHICAL SYSTEM OF THE KHOE

mid-seventeenth century (after the early Dutch records of 1652–1662)

## First tier

Monarch (or king / chief) of all the Khoe → *the Chobona*

- Monarch of the Khoe: the Great Chobona – *the Chobona* (respects address, r/a).
- Tribal name: Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s) [also Koboqua(s) / Kobona(s)].
- Two principal tribal chiefs:  
1) Great Chobona [senior] and 2) Little Chobona [second-in-charge of the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s) tribe].
- Residency: in the distant north / north-east.

## *The Chobona*

Two-tiered tribal system:  
“Great”—“Little”

## Second tier

Second-in-charge / chief regional chief (choebaha) → the “Little Chobona”

- The “Little Chobona” / second-in-charge of all the Khoe to *the Chobona*: the Great Chainouqua – *the Chainouqua* (r/a).
- Tribal name: Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) [also Gonaqua(s) / Gonana(s), Goroqua(s) / Gorona(s), Koraqua(s) / Korana(s), etc.].
- Two principal tribal chiefs:  
1) Great Chainouqua [senior] and 2) Little Chainouqua [second-in-charge of the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) tribe].
- Residency: *the Chainouqua* – chief choebaha and choebaha of the south-east region.

## *The Chainouqua*

## Third tier

Regional chiefs → Choebaha / Choebahas

## *The Hancumqua*

Regional chief / choebaha of the north-east region

## *The Namaqua*

Regional chief / choebaha of the north-west region

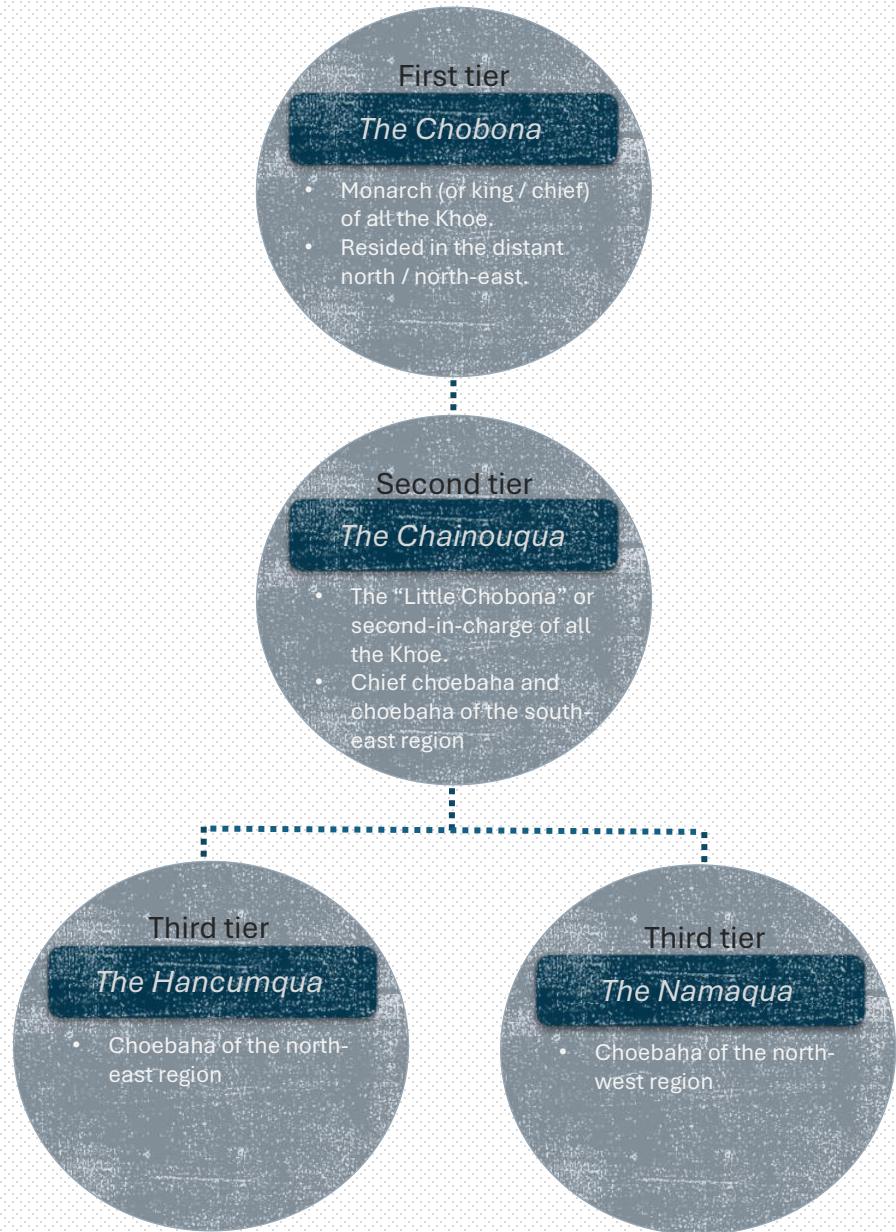
More regional chiefs / choebahas may have formed part of the socio-political system, but only the *Hancumqua* and the *Namaqua* are specifically mentioned in the early Dutch records of 1652–1662.

## Fourth tier

Tribal chiefs → Choeque / Choeques (or Hunque / Hunques)

- Tribal chiefs—or choeques / hunques—were subject to the various regional chiefs or choebahas.
- The choebahas were all subject to *the Chobona*—or monarch of the Khoe—via the chief of the regional chiefs—or the chief choebaha / “Little Chobona” / *the Chainouqua*.
- Through this system all the Khoe tribes were ultimately socio-politically connected.

# RELOCATING THE FOUR PRINCIPAL KHOE TRIBES OF THE MID SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



## BASIC METHODOLOGY

- 1. Historical inquiry**
  - 1.1 Area of occupation (general)
  - 1.2 The Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s)
  - 1.3 The Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s)
  - 1.4 The Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s)
  - 1.5 The Namaqua(s) / Namana(s)
- 2. Linguistic inquiry**
  - 2.1 The suffixes -qua(s), -que(s) and -na(s)
  - 2.2 Tribal names
  - 2.3 Tribal expansion and tribal names
  - 2.4 Dutch naming of the Khoë: Saldanhars, Hottentoo(s) / Hottentot(s) and Ottentoo(s)
  - 2.5 The early Dutch reference to “Vigit Magna”
- 3. Antique map inquiry**
  - Murray. 1891. *Africae Accurata Tabula et Officina Iacobum Meuseum*.
  - Du Val. c. 1663. *Cafrerie et Monomotapa*.
  - Tirion. c. 1730. *Kaart van het Zuidelykste Gedeelte van Afrika of het Land der Hottentotten*.
  - Bellin. c. 1747. *Empire du Monomotapa et Etats Voisins*.
  - Le Vaillant. 1796. *New travels into the interior parts of Africa, 1783–1785, Vol II*.
  - Walker. 1922. *Economic map of South Africa*.
- 4. Conclusion**
  - Principal residings of the four most prominent Khoë tribes in the mid seventeenth century
    - 4.1 The Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s)
    - 4.2 The Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s)
    - 4.3 The Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s)
    - 4.4 The Namaqua(s) / Namana(s)

# RELOCATING THE FOUR PRINCIPAL KHOE TRIBES OF THE MID SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: SPATIAL RE/ORIENTATION

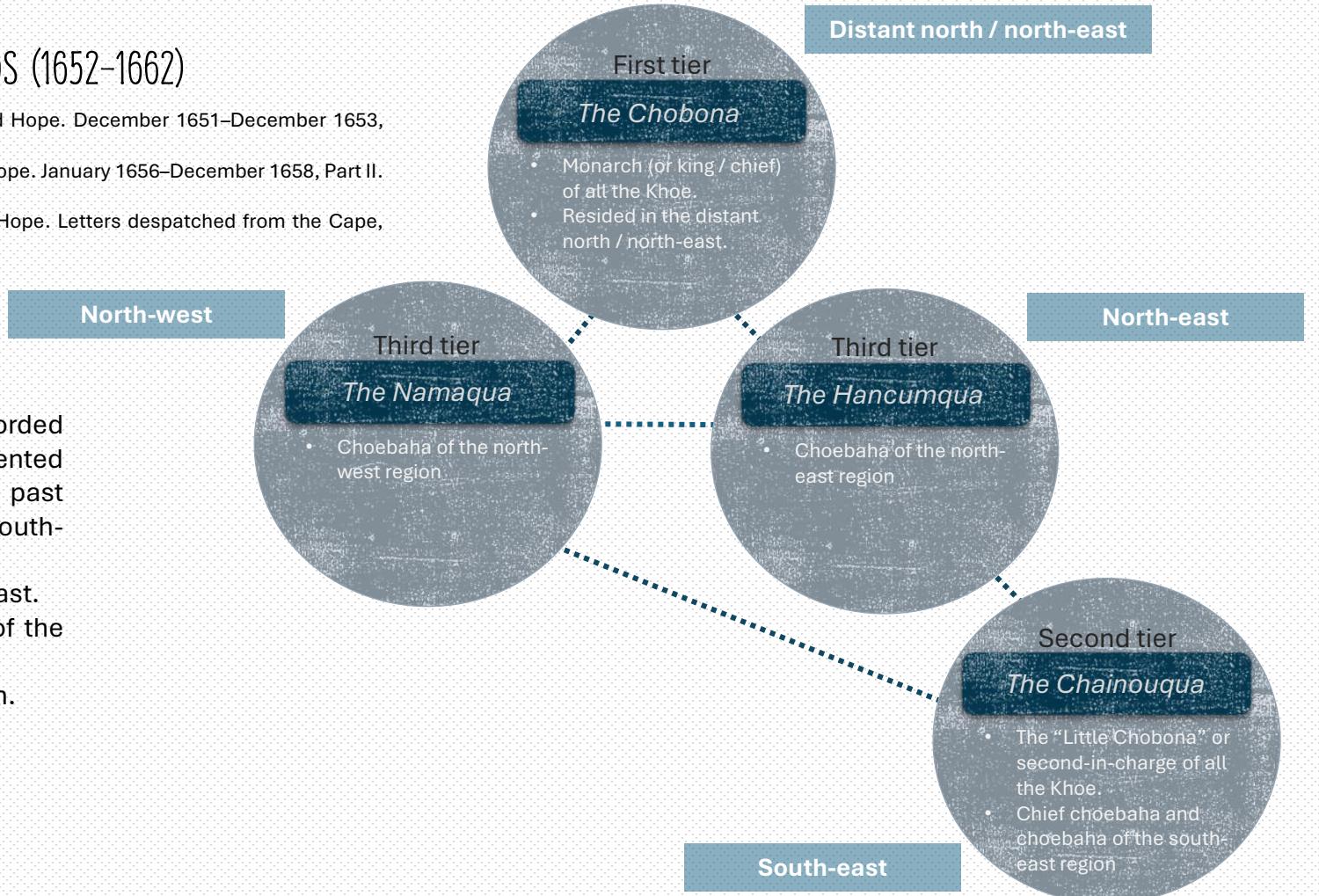
## ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF EARLY DUTCH RECORDS (1652–1662)

- Leibrandt, H.C.V. 1897a. Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. December 1651–December 1653, Part I. Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons.
- Leibrandt, H.C.V. 1897b. Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. January 1656–December 1658, Part II. Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons.
- Leibrandt, H.C.V. 1900. Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Letters despatched from the Cape, 1652–1662, Part III. Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons.

## EARLY DUTCH RECORDS (1652–1662)

The Khoi's socio-political hierarchical system—as recorded by the early Dutch—had a strong north-east oriented political power and geo-spatial emphasis, contrary to past and current scientific and generally held beliefs of a south-western oriented pattern:

- The Chobona*: resided in the distant north / north-east.
- The Chainouqua*: chief choebaha and choebaha of the south-east region.
- The Hancumqua*: choebaha of the north-east region.
- The Namaqua*: choebaha of the north-west region.



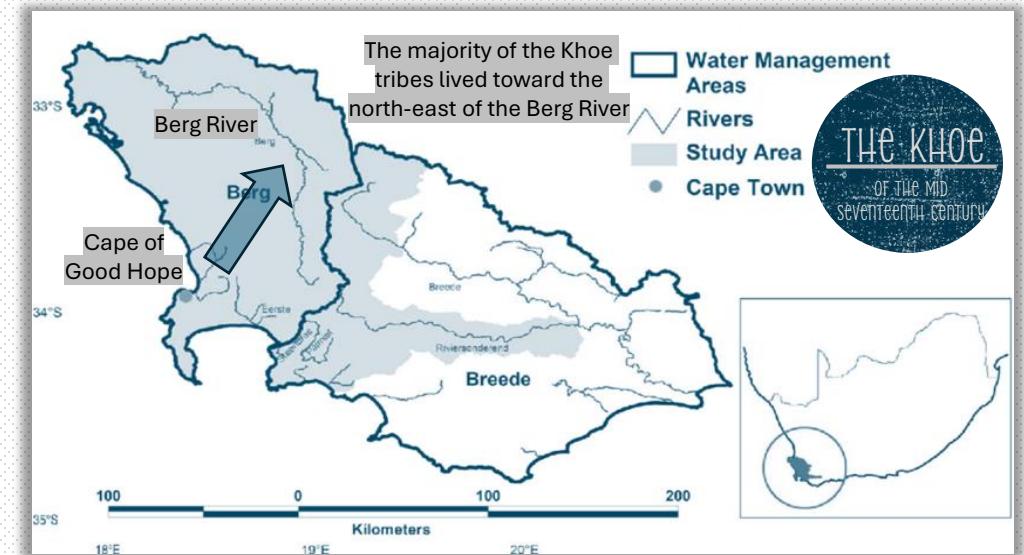
# 1 HISTORICAL INQUIRY

## 1.1 Area of occupation (general)

1. The Khoë lived across the breadth of southern Africa, from the Indian Ocean in the east to the Atlantic Ocean (Ethiopian Sea) in the west.
2. The majority of the Khoë tribes resided toward the north-east of the Berg River.
3. The Khoë—although recorded as residing permanently at described residings—migrated seasonally with their herds and flocks, seldom staying more than a fortnight (two weeks) at a place because of the size of their herds. Many tribes visited the Dutch at the Cape only once every 2–3 years.
4. The Khoë preferred to trade sheep rather than cattle, and only traded surplus (often old) livestock because they subsisted on their herds.

**8 NOVEMBER 1658:** As it appears from the report of Ensign Harwarden that Oedasoa's people [Cochoquas] are abundantly supplied with beads, whilst those of Ngonomoa [Cochoquas] wish to have copper wire, but also that **neither parties are willing to part with their cattle, preferring to sell sheep, and as it appears also that because of the multitude of their cattle they can never stay more than a fortnight on the same spot, and must move like flying armies, so that they can only be caught like birds in the air**, and must be taken advantage of whilst here, if we wish to get as much cattle as possible, it was resolved to send as soon as possible another expedition to Ngonomoa with enough copper wire for 1,000 sheep, and some beads for those who may want them. Also enough plate copper for 80 or 100 head of cattle, and should not enough be obtained there, the expedition is to proceed to the [temporary camp of the] Chainouquas, about 10 to 12 hours' distant on foot in the direction of False Bay, where these two chief captains of the Cochoquas [Oedasoa and Ngonomoa] are camped in the middle of the land of Africa, and the Charugriquas [Grigriquas] towards the sea side of Saldanha. **Therefore these three tribes [all the Khoë], of which the Cochoquas are the most powerful [in the experience of the Dutch], enclose, or with their encampments enclose, the whole region between both the seas of India towards the East and Ethiopia on the west. The whole breadth of the land between the Mountains, and the beautiful valleys, are travelled over by them**, and therefore as they are here now, the chance is to be taken advantage of. The Ensign is therefore again to be despatched with 17 or 18 men, a wagon and oxen, and also a present to the chief &c.— Signed by Riebeeck, De Man, Van Harwarden and Gabemma (Leibrandt 1897b: 182–183).

**5 NOVEMBER 1657:** [...] Return of the [Dutch] expedition which had left on the 19<sup>th</sup> October last. Nothing more had been obtained than 7 cows, 3 calves and 41 sheep, which they brought with them. They stated that they were not able to get further than a certain **large wide river** [Berg River ?], fully 7½ leagues [1 league = 4.83km] from this and 2 roods [1 rood = 5–7.3m] broad. **Beyond that the real Saldanhars [Khoë] are only found.** In consequence of its depth and strong current northward, it could not be crossed before the dry season, when according to the statements of the Hottentoos [Khoë] the principal Saldanhars located on its banks for the sake of the water—there being no other anywhere else in the neighbourhood—where rich pastures exist. Because of the depth of the river we could not communicate with the Saldanhars, and failed to get any more cattle from the Chorachouquas [Gorachouquas], who had stolen the tobacco, and were located on this side, also from the Charengur mains, from whom we obtained the cattle mentioned, all of them stating, like the Caapmen, that they had to live from their herds [...] (Leibrandt 1897b: 83–84).



4 May 1653: [...] By the *Oliphant* there is proceeding home a German Priest called Martinus Martiny, who has been a long time in China and travelled through the Indies in all directions. He has made many notes and charts, and in German told us that during June, July and August we might easily voyage towards the **Rio dos Rayos** [Maputo / Delagoa Bay], about 280 (Dutch) miles [1 Dutch mile = 5½–6¼km] to the East of this Cape on the coast of Africa, nearly half-way between **Mozambique** [Island of Mozambique] and this, and in 25½° S. Lat., on this side of **Cape Corrientes**, where much gold, tusks, ebony and fine Caffers [natives] or slaves were to be had, at cheap rates and easily, in exchange for Genoa linen, red cotton, coarse and painted cloths, tobacco, iron, glass beads of all colours, little bells, and salt, of which latter we have an abundance. He also said that annually the Portuguese obtain their slaves and gold there by means of a small vessel, and that the same may be obtained from **Os Montos d'Ouro** in about 28½° S. Lat. [St. Lucia] and not more than 220 (Dutch) miles from this, round the point, and as accessible to us with light yachts or galliots armed with 4, 6, 8 or 10 caronades, as it is from Mozambique. Besides, according to this priest the Portuguese do not number more than 20 and are without a fortress, which they only have at Mozambique. They would very likely be inclined to trade with us as well as the natives, especially to obtain European stores, cheese, butter, wine, &c. They get very little help (which must be obtained from Goa via Mozambique) and would therefore be anxious to trade. By water they could not hinder us at all, as the place is only visited from Mozambique by two or three vessels smaller than galliots, with two guns, and sent by private merchants from Mozambique to fetch the gold obtained there by the Portuguese from the natives. Gold may also be obtained along the same coast as far as the rivers or bays named **R. de Cuamo** [Zambezi River] and **R. de St. Jorge** [Pungwe River] in 18 and 19½° S. Lat., and for the same merchandise. Because of the shallowness of the water they can only be navigated by small vessels during the months named, so that there is no danger of being caught by large Portuguese ships in the neighbourhood, as soon as **Terra de Natal** has been passed [...] (Leibrandt 1897a: 143).

## Area of occupation (general) (cont. 1/1)





## 1.2 THE CHOBOQUA(S) / CHOBONA(S)

1. *The Chobona was the monarch (or king / chief) of all the Khoë and resided with his tribe, the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s), far inland at a locale in the distant north / north-east.*
2. *The Chobona(s) is recorded as a black tribe (a Khoë people of dark skin tone).*
3. *They mined gold—or chory—from sand (alluvial gold / gold dust) and coined and stamped gold coins that were larger than the palms of their hands. They are also known for their wealth in pearls and ivory and their fondness of red copper and red (copper) beads.*
4. *They resided in houses build of stone and wooden beams (permanent settlement) and practiced agriculture including the planting of rice (agro-pastoralists).*
5. *They were known as the Quena (see *Linguistic Inquiry*, but “Quena” was also commonly translated as the golden peoples).*
6. *The Chobona had an army that comprised (sections of) two tribes, namely:*
  - *the Kochoqua [Cochoqua(s)]*
  - *the Gorona [Chainouqua(s)]*

In the mid seventeenth century, the Chobona’s army—the Kochoqua(s) and Gorona(s)—was mainly embroiled in war in the north-east.
7. *In 1657 the Chainouqua captain, Chaihantima, reported to the Dutch that the English had been slave raiding in Chobonar, the land of the Chobona, and had taken many of the Chobona(s) as slaves.*
8. *The Chobona practiced a type of bride-wealth—the gifting of wives to significant subjects—that forged tribal allegiance, i.e. the bride of Chaihantima, an important captain of the Chainouqua, the second-most important Khoë chief / tribe in the socio-political hierarchical system of the Khoë.*

31 OCTOBER 1657: [...] The Commander [Van Riebeeck] spent most of the day communicating with the Saldanhars [Khoë], by means of a girl named Eva [Krotoa], about 15 or 16 years old, since the arrival of the Dutch in the service of Mrs. Riebeeck, and now already speaking Dutch very well. **We gathered that there was an emperor or king, who ruled over all the Cape natives [Khoë], and called by them Chobona. He lives far inland, and is rich in gold, which they called “Chory,” and which is taken out of sand. They also know to coin and stamp the coins, which they made as big as, or even bigger than the palms of their hands. These people were represented to be very fond of red copper and red beads. They had large houses of stone and beams, sowing white rice and planting all kinds of vegetables. They also wore clothes and spoke a different language than those nearer the Cape, who were all subject and tributary to this Chobona. They were known to us as the Saldanhars [Khoë], and by this nation as “Quena,” being of one language and dress. An army of the Chobona keeps them under proper control, and punishes all rebels.** This army is of the same nation, dress and language as the Saldanhars, and called Kochoqua [Cochoqua]. It consists of two sections. The second one is called the Gorona [Chainouqua], which has nothing else to do than to fight the rebels, and this keeps them constantly busy. They are not successful in their object, as some do not wish to pay homage to the Chobona which he requires as his right. **These Kochoqua and Gorona are consequently always engaged in war.** When killed they are succeeded by their children, brothers and also sisters. **The chief [Chaihantima, captain of the Chainouqua] from whom we had bought the 3 oxen told us that one of his wives had lived in the house of the Chobona, and been educated there. She was, therefore, a great friend of this big man, and he told us that his wife had worn in her ears, round her neck and fingers, golden ornaments.** Riebeeck immediately asked that he should bring hither his wife or one of her ornaments. He replied that she could not move, being accustomed only to remain at home, and to be served by other young women. Walking would hurt her feet. He was offered a fine wagon to fetch her, but answered that she would die of fear if she saw the Dutchmen. Riebeeck even offered to go himself, but this also would not do. **As he intended to leave tomorrow he was asked whether he required any escort towards the Chobona, which might also invite other people to visit us. He declined this offer, stating that if his friends heard that he had Dutchmen with him they would all run away and kill their cattle by over-driving,** for though they had heard of us they knew nothing of our good nature, as he did. This is his second visit. Herry [Atshumao] and the Caapmen had spoken only evil of our people wherever they went, but he would try and come to us with all his tribe, to make them gradually accustomed to us. After that he might undertake the journey to the Chobona with some of our men (Leibrandt 1897b: 80–81).

## THE CHOBOQUA(S) / CHOBONA(S) (CONT. 1/1)

31 OCTOBER 1657: The “Soanqua” [San] are robbers, subject to none, and depending upon their arrows and assegays, treacherously robbing their neighbours of their cattle and their wives. **This stealing of women in war seems to be general among all the natives**, everyone boasting of the number captured by him. The reason seems to be to increase their numbers by breeding; **even the wife of the Chaynouqua [Chainouqua] chief [Chaihantima] is no native Chobonar, but has been taken by Chobonar from one of the chief rebels among the tribes, and brought up in his house**, as she was a great lady. She was afterwards given to him as a wife, a favour highly esteemed as one of great honour. By such means, giving wives out of his own house, the Chobona connects all the tribes with his (Leibrandt 1897b: 82).

*The Chobona*

Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s)



1 NOVEMBER 1657: [...] The chief [Chaihantima] having told us that gold was to be found in Chobonar land, we showed him diamonds, pearls and gold chains; excepting diamonds he recognised all the rest, a thing not hitherto done by any other Hottentoo [Khoe]. He told us that his wife was abundantly supplied with pearls and golden ornaments, but not caring for such things she had left with the Chobona, wearing only a few on the ears and fingers. He also said that the Chobona wished to give him all these trinkets with his wife, and also a lot of gold, but as he did not know the value before he saw the like things here, he did not wish for them, and had asked what he was to do with them; **he would have it that we could not have obtained the pearls and gold except in Chobona's land, where before this some Englishmen had called on the coast and taken away many of the people.** If we came there they would think that we were of the same nation. It was therefore necessary that he should first introduce us everywhere, and then he might take some of ours with him. Time will show whether all this is true. To attach him to us he was presented with many gifts, tobacco, copper and some French electroplate and gilt chains, also some imitation pearls which he considered to be genuine, and other fine ornaments for the hands and neck, and carcanets. He would take none of these things, saying that his wife had a lot of it in great abundance, and therefore would not accept it. We did our best to persuade him to accept the articles for his wife, but the more we insisted the more he excused himself, only wishing to accept for his children the silver chains and the pearls, with a few other trifles similar to those procured last year, and which, according to him, would be acceptable and new to his wife (Leibrandt 1897b: 83).

5 MARCH 1659: Chobona or Choboqua, whom we believe to be the Emperor of Monomotapa [erroneous interpretation by the Dutch, the Monomotapa was the king / chief of the maKaranga], dwelling, as far as we can understand, to the N. East in towns and castles, and who is rich in gold and ivory, under whom the Namana or Namaqua have the government over the Hottentoo and Saldanhars [Khoe], who also dwell in permanent houses and fortifications towards the N. West on the Angola side. Their clothing consists of white skins, and they maintain themselves also with cattle, churning butter in churns, just like the Hollanders, even making all kinds of casks. At present seven strong volunteers have left to find them and also the Chobona (Leibrandt 1900: 93).

## 1.3 THE CHAINOUQUA(S) / CHAINOUNA(S)

1. *The Chainouqua* was the “Little Chobona” or second-in-charge of all the Khoe. He was also the chief choebaha—or chief of the regional chiefs—and choebaha of the south-east region. He resided with his tribe, the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s), in the south-east (at least 30 days’ march away from the Cape of Good Hope station).
2. A section of the Chainouqua(s)—the Gorona(s)—was one of the two tribes that comprised the Chobona’s army.
3. They are recorded as a people of greater stature / taller than the Cape Khoe (Le Vaillant 1796b).
4. They were notably rich in cattle and together with the Cochoqua(s) led the cattle trade with the Dutch. Specifically breeding oxen traded with them established the basis of the Dutch herds that in time came to be known as the Afrikaner breed.



The Chainouqua

Chainouqua(s) /  
Chainouna(s)

31 OCTOBER 1657: [...] The chief living towards the East belonged to the Chainunquas [Chainouquas], who was very rich in cattle and the subject of the Chobona with the rest, some of whom were dissatisfied and rebellious [...] (Leibrandt 1897b: 81).

22 FEBRUARY 1658: [...] Those who have been ere this known as “Saldanha men,” or real Saldanhars [Khoe], are located on the other side of the Bergh [Berg] River and never come down to it more than once every two or three years, according to the testimony of a certain horde called by them Chaijnouquas [Chainouquas], whose chief, named Chaijnouqua [*the Chainouqua, r/a*] bartered to us this season, through one of his principal headmen, more than one hundred head of cattle, and is at present supposed to have gone further into the interior with the copper obtained from us, in order with it to barter other cattle [...]

Now there is still another great Monarch dwelling towards the south-east [north-east?] side of the coast deep inland towards Monomotapa, whom the aforesaid Chainouqua described to us as Chobona, a different kind of people from these tribes of the Cape, quite black, and rich in gold, in whose house this Chainouqua’s wife had been reared and given him in marriage. He also claimed dominion over the Namanas or Namaquas as well as the rest of the Hottentooxs, but when we asked Herry [Atshumao] about it he spoke of him contemptuously and spat at the name, holding it with the Namaquas who live in the direction of the Angola Coast [...] (Leibrandt 1900: 13–14).

1 DECEMBER 1657: [...] The Chaynouqua [Chaihantima] brings 53 cows, among them six fine oxen. We bought all. He also brought back the ox which he had borrowed. He promised to bring more. It seems as if the freemen had said that they intended going on an expedition towards the camp of these people, and he therefore begged that we would forbid our men from doing so, as his people would run away, whilst they are now coming down in large numbers. Of the Couchouquas [Cochoquas] also three men were here, who said that they also would bring cattle soon, being already near the Berg River. All these people were well treated (Leibrandt 1897b: 92).

6 MAY 1658: [...] The Chainouqua captain [Chaihantima] sends word that he is staying with the stout captain named Gogosoa, and waiting for the return of his men sent by him to fetch a large number of cattle. His place is about 30 days’ journey from this. He had wished to be sure, before bringing any cattle, that the same Dutch captain was still here, and had now sent men to report this fact to the paramount chief [*the Chainouqua or Sousoa*]. He would not allow any of our people to accompany his men, and advised us to wait until the natives’ fear of the whites had worn off more [...] (Leibrandt 1897b: 118).

13 DECEMBER 1657: [...] Some Saldanhars [Khoe] belonging to the Chaynouqua [Chainouqua] tribes bring 12 cattle, which we bought; their headman, called by us “the Resolute,” had not been here for two years, and seeing, whilst busy trading with R. de Man, the Commander, and finding that he was still the same individual, he appeared much pleased, laughing, singing, &c., taking Riebeeck round the neck and holding his hands. Riebeeck paid him the same compliment and made him understand that he also was very glad to see him, and to prove this treated him and his men abundantly with brandy, bread, and beads. After this he left, promising to bring much cattle, whilst he added that we might also expect his friend the Captain of the Chaynouquas [Chaihantima], from whom two or three large troops had already been obtained as mentioned above. The freemen had also bought at Rayniersz’s homestead 3 cattle, so that the trade, thank God, is fairly prospering (Leibrandt 1897b: 93–94).

17 MAY 1658: [...] Chaihantima returns home, his knapsacks and stomach well filled with bread and brandy and his hands with tobacco. He pretended that the people of the Chainouqua, or his Chief [Sousoa], were afraid to come hither without him. They wished first to hear full particulars from him and receive good testimony about the Dutch before making a movement hither. In 4 or 5 weeks, according to him, this would happen, and they would come with a large number of cattle, which are heartily wished for, especially the oxen, which are much wanted for agriculture. Already cows must be used for the purpose, but they are weak, and if used, breed badly (Leibrandt 1897b: 121).



## 1.4 THE HANCUMQUA(S) / HANCUMNA(S)

1. *The Hancumqua* was choebaha—or regional chief—of the north-east region, where he resided with his tribe, the Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s).
2. The Hancumqua(s) is recorded as a *white* tribe (a Khoi people of light skin tone and notably lighter than the Cape Khoi). They are a people of small stature: a person of 5ft 4in / 1.6m was considered tall (Le Vaillant 1796b).
3. They were rich in cattle and planted dagga / marijuana.
4. They stayed permanently at the same residings where they lived in grass huts—or *matjieshutte*—but of a much larger size than the Cape Khoi. They resided southward of the river *Vigiti Magna*.

### *The Hancumqua*

21 JUNE 1658: [...] Upon this the new interpreter Doman, now called Anthony, who had returned from Batavia with the Hon. Cuneus, being asked why the Hottentoos [Khoi] would not search for the runaways, coolly replied that he did not know. Riebeeck (not trusting him) called the interpreters Eva [Krotoa] alone into his office, who was asked whether the blacks were not harboured by the Hottentoos. Being told that the Commander thought so, she replied, "I shall tell you straight out; Doman is no good. What we spoke yesterday in master's room he communicated to the Hottentoos. I told him that he was doing wrong, but he replied, 'I am a Hottentoo and not a Dutchman, but you Eva, are a lickspittle of the Commander,'" &c. She added: **"I believe with master, that the stout captain of the Caapmen [Gogosoa] harbours the slaves and intends to present them as gifts with the latter, who would in their turn convey the slaves to the Hancumquas, living far hence and cultivating the soil in which they grow 'daccha,' [dagga / marijuana] a dry herb which the Hottentoos eat and which makes them drunk, and is highly esteemed among them [...]"** (Leibrandt 1897b: 129).

### Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s)

31 OCTOBER 1657: The "Chancumqua," [Hancumqua] also from the East, rich and numerous; also one of the principal chiefs of the Chobona (Leibrandt 1897b: 82).

5 MAY 1662: Hancumquas, according to the hopes given us about them. These **Hancumquas**, as we have always been able to understand, **must be the greatest and most powerful of all the dirty Hottentoo [Khoi] tribes** [Khoi who smeared their bodies with fat / oil], **living like all the others in huts of matting, but of a much larger size. They live permanently on the same spots, where they plant and dry a certain plant which they call "dacha,"** [dagga / marijuana] which they bruise and eat, and which makes them very silly, just as in India is done by opium, which is the reason that they long for the very strongest tobacco. **The chief of the tribe seems to be the Paramount Chief over all the Choequees [choques] or Kings, and is called Choebaha,** which seems to mean Emperor or at least Chief King or Lord over all the others.

Those who are residing even still further than this supreme Lord of the Hottentoos [*the Hancumqua*], and of the same race, but richer even than all those dwelling on this side of this Paramount Chief are named first the—

Chanaquas [Chainouquas], then follow the Omaquas, Atiquas [Attaquas / Houteniquas], Houtunquas [Houteniquas], and Chauquas. All like the Hancumquas subsisting, besides their numberless herds of cattle, on their dacha plantations, dwelling in permanent places, in large mat huts, dressed like all other Hottentoos in skins, and equally dirty, &c.

After these, is said to begin, but beyond the River *Vigiti Magna*, and in an easterly direction, another race of men, called by all the above-mentioned Hottentoos Choboqua or Chobona [...] (Leibrandt 1900: 242).

## 1.5 THE NAMAQUA(S) / NAMANA(S)



The Namaqua

Namaqua(s) Namana(s)

1. *The Namaqua was choebaha—or regional chief—of the north-west region, where he resided with his tribe, the Namaqua(s) / Namana(s).*
2. *The Namaqua(s) is recorded as a people of tall stature, also described as half-giants.*
3. *They were rich in cattle, processed milk into cheese, most likely mined copper and produced red copper beads and reputed to have had significant trade connections inland and toward the east, including trade in cowrie shells, ivory and gold.*
4. *They stayed permanently at the same residings where they lived in grass huts—or matjieshutte—but not excluding dwellings built of stone and wood.*
5. *Two Namaqua(s) villages may have been discovered by the crew of the *Maria*, 1658, near Cape Negro [Brak Pan / Skeleton coast region].*
6. *They resided northward of the river Vigiti Magna (erroneously inferred by the Dutch to be the Great / Orange River and not the Sabie River / Sabie–Komati river system).*
7. *The early Dutch never met the *Namaqua*, but they did meet Namaqua(s) representatives during their inland journey facilitated by the Great Grigriqua(s) in 1661.*

31 OCTOBER 1657: “Namana,” living towards the north; also rich and courting the favour of the Chobona (Leibrandt 1897b: 82).

9 APRIL 1662: In order to discover whether anything more than cattle trading could be established with the Namaqua tribes, discovered last year, and if possible, with others beyond, the Sergeant of the Fort, Pieter Everard and his 13 active companions, once more left for the interior on the 14<sup>th</sup> November last, as you will see from our journal of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of that month, which also contains our Resolutions on the subject. Their return we mention below. We would have also sent an expedition towards the East, but we were kept back too much by sick men from the passing ships, whom we exchanged for healthy ones; but as you seem to be in earnest in this matter, it will be vigilantly attended to next year, just as we have always done to the utmost of our power. **We, therefore, hope that the clue was found last year, when the Namaquas were discovered** (Leibrandt 1900: 215).

15 NOVEMBER 1657: [...] Upon our statement that we had acted in accordance with what Chaynouquas [Chainouquas] had told us, he [Herry / Atshumao] answered that they were mad and did not know what they said. He seemed partly to quarrel with them, and hinted, whilst we were looking on, that it would be better not to continue on this topic. Eva [Krotoa] therefore changed the conversation, for Herry, who had winked to Peter [Otegna] to say as he said, angrily spat on the ground and covered the saliva with his foot as often as we mentioned the Chobona, saying, “That and as much for the Chobona.” From this we feared a rupture between him and the chief [Chaihantima, of the Chainouqua], and told him what we heard about the Chobona had been told us by others. In this way we endeavoured to avoid all quarrels; but when we said that the large majority of Saldanhars considered the Chobona as their king, he replied that they were mad, as the great chief was the stout man named Gogosy [Gogosoa] who lived among the biggest troop of the Caapmen, and who was acknowledged as such by all who dwelt on this side of the Great Berg River, and had been visited by our party, who had obtained some cattle from them, and who are named as follows:—

Goringaycoina, Caapmen’s largest troupe, with whom Gogosy—well known to us—lives at all times.

Goringaina.

Goringquaqua [-quaqua designates the tribal name problematic], the troop of Herry and all the Watermen.

Gourachouqua [Gorachauquas] or Gorachauna, the tobacco thieves; also the Charingurina [Grigriquas / Grigrinas] who last year had surprised our *Robbejacht* and robbed the men of their copper, with the intention of murdering them.

All were known to the Caapmen, and dwell on this side of the Great Berg River, and together are continually at war with the real Saldanhars [Khoe] on the other side. When we told Herry that sometimes they might be made subject to the Chobona, he replied that those who allowed this were also mad, but that they would by right acknowledge no one save Gogosy, whose kinsman Pieter Otegna was. **He acknowledged that the Namana or Namaqua was a powerful and rich tribe, living towards the north and to the west of the Cape, where all these Cape aborigines dwell; but they were not Hottentooes, and had no dominion over them (Herry and his associates). They had long hanging but no curled hair [braids], as the Hottentooes. They were also dressed in sheepskins and obtained all the copper, but he did not know whether they again sold it to other nations. From the Namaquas they also obtained their red beads, which that nation made, and most of the cattle now among the Saldanhars** (Leibrandt 1897b: 89–90).

# THE NAMAQUA(S) / NAMANA(S) (CONT. 1/2)



Namaqua(s) Namana(s)

4 MAY 1661: [...] His Honour will be able to tell you how our explorers (landreysers) returned on the 23<sup>rd</sup> instant from the newly discovered Namaquas, after an absence of 33 days, and reported that they had not found the king [the Namaqua] at the former place, and had accordingly travelled 5 days further, when they reached the great Chariguriquas [Great Grigriquas], among whom they found some of the king's people. The chief of the Chariguriquas had there sent word to them that if our people came there (to him?) with Oedasoas's [Cochoqua] emissaries, he would, in the king's name (in sijn naam) accept the peace with them (Oedasoas's people). This was effected, the Soaquas [San] or the mountain tribes, who had shortly before been conquered by the Namaquas, being included in the terms and brought to subjugation; so that there was peaceful travelling in every direction everywhere. He [the Namaqua] had now proceeded against a certain nation named Brigouay [Tswana], ere this wrongly named Bryckje, in order to bring them once more to their former devotion, and after that to endeavour to obtain everything from the tribes with which he traded, in order to show it to the Dutch. With that object he would, about the end of the present rainy season, arrive at the place where the Chariguriquas were encamped [near the Olifant's River], whose chief had orders to tell this to our people, so that, if we wished it, we would find him there, prepared to accompany Oedasoas's ordinary emissaries, named Kerrari and Hactona—who had also been with our people—on their return to the Cape; and to bring with them some of the Brigoudys [Tswanas] who formerly brought gold from the other tribes named Kerry Eyqua, and called by the Hottentoos [Khoe] living here Choy Eyqua, that is gold nation. He would also bring elephants' tusks and other things more which the newly discovered Namaquas brought overland from the very distant north to a nation like the Dutch, where ships call. This may perhaps be the Portuguese in Angola. As the way was very long and difficult, and he had now heard that there were Dutch settled at the Cape, from whom also everything might be obtained, he seemed inclined to choose the shortest way to them, and bring with him samples of everything that was obtainable among the interior tribes, so that he might show them to us and we might select what pleased us best. After a very strict examination, we concluded that the Namaquas have communication with those of Monomotapa, and sometimes meet the latter in the cities mentioned in Linschoten's charts as Vigiti Magna, Mossatae Samot, Cumissa, Souros and neighbourhood. You can therefore see how far we, unto the last moment, have endeavoured to discover for the Company [VOC], with all possible diligence, the hidden things of this land, and how we have already succeeded so far that in consequence of the peace established with the tribes in every direction (and which has also been brought about by us), there is no doubt that in time more trade will follow, such as in cattle; and we would also come into contact with the north eastern natives, who traffic with those of Mozambique. The evidence of this the Chainouquas also promised to bring with them when they came down next year, when they will also bring with them the natives. Further information must therefore be waited for, and we hope, which God grant, that our successor may be so fortunate as to discover something for the Company. And regarding the Namaquas residing mostly to the north and north east (?west) from this toward Angola, we refer you to our daily notes of the 23<sup>rd</sup> instant, which also contain the journal of the land travellers, which has been embodied in them for the sake of clearness (Leibrandt 1900: 203–205).

5 MAY 1662: Namaquas, from whom the great Chariguriquas [Great Grigriquas] have sought and obtained intercourse and alliance. This tribe has lately, after a long journey, been discovered by our people. It is mighty rich in cattle. The men and women are of very tall stature, almost like half giants. They are dressed in beautifully prepared skins. Further particulars regarding them will be found in our journal of the 11<sup>th</sup> March, 1661, in which are inserted the notes of the travellers. It will, therefore, not be necessary to make story here. The narrative will also show the tribe's very favourable disposition towards ourselves, and that it seems to be one that has trading connections with other tribes still further inland; so that, through it, we have the course so far open, that only now shall we be able thoroughly to begin to discover something better than cattle only. Of these people, more will be coming down to all appearance than will be desired. Thus, after having laboured for ten long years, we hope that we have opened for you a happy path towards the North of this Africa. About the end of September another expedition must be despatched in that direction, in order to be able to cross the waterless region, about that time probably still moist from the rains, and so reach the river where there is a city, mentioned in Linschoten's Map as Vigiti Magna, and where there is quite a different people from the Hottentoos [Khoe], which we have already referred to above, and to which we now again refer, namely, the people found by us to be the richest, and dwelling mostly in an Easterly direction from this, along the East coast of Africa, where they sometimes visit some of the bays, as we have discovered from their own statements. We have only commenced to know them thoroughly for two years. They are the Chainouquas [...] (Leibrandt 1900: 141).



## THE NAMAQUA(S) / NAMANA(S) (CONT. 2/2)

### Namaqua(s) Namana(s)

29 May 1658: Arrival of the *Maria*, from St. Helena on the 1<sup>st</sup> inst [...]. The skipper of the *Maria* reported that the *Robbejacht* had parted company on the 13<sup>th</sup> February under the tropic, and not been seen again. Very likely she perished on a certain reef 12 leagues broad (1 league = 4.83km) and extending 8 leagues into the sea. The *Maria* nearly struck on it. This loss is a great inconvenience, as we required the vessel for conveying seals' meat and birds from the Island for feeding slaves.

After that loss the skipper had reached Cape Negro. The people however, who all had short dresses on, fled inland; two big towns were found quite deserted. The houses were similar to the Hottentoo [Khoe] huts here [Namaqua towns / villages ?]. After that the vessel cruised for some time off Loango St. Paulo; finding nothing there, she came on to St. Helena, to be here in good time. She had seen 3 ships at Loango, but no chance to attack them. It seems that very little will be gained there for the Company (Leibrandt 1897b: 124)

9 APRIL 1662: Passing by the matter of the Island of Martyn Vaes, until our further orders have been received, we shall now mention the **Namaquas**. During this season, as already mentioned, **an expedition was again sent to them**, and in order to secure better success, the Sergeant of the Fort accompanied it as Chief. They travelled more than 48 Dutch miles [1 Dutch mile = ~5½-6¼km or one hours' walk] beyond the spot which they had reached last year, but they were unable to meet or reach that nation, as the Namaquas had retired beyond a large area of 4 or 5 days journey, a dry, salt and sandy country, without even the least drop of water, excepting here and there a small, dirty, stinking, mud-hole, and so salt that more saline matter was obtainable from its sides than any drink water. **This the Sergeant investigated with 2 men who accompanied him (the others having been left by him at a large fresh water called the Oliphant's River).** They explored the country beyond 4 days long, but seeing no chance of advancing further, and being half faint with thirst, they were obliged to return to their people at the river, and there decide to bend their steps homeward. **He is, however, of opinion that this arid territory, where there is neither leaf nor grass, might be traversed at the beginning or the end of the rainy season, by those at the Olifant's River, as may be deduced from the many footmarks of cattle and human beings as it were imprinted in the aforesaid hard salt ground, as if in clay, whilst a hut was built here and there. But during the rainy season it must be remembered that the Olifant's River is so high that there would be no way of getting any laden oxen across.** This river discharges itself into an inland sea, which, according to the annexed chart, drawn from their observations as they travelled along, has been found to be in 30 43/60 degrees of latitude, and to be situated fully from 40 to 50 miles (Dutch) across from the ocean or the interior. According to their statement, it was navigable 4 Dutch miles up, all fresh water. **They would have to be at that river in order to start from it on their journey (as soon as the rains have fallen), and so continue their explorations.** We hope that, according to your instructions, every diligence will be shown by them; but it is our opinion that Oedasoa [Cochoqua], the chief of the Saldanhars, is endeavouring to draw away from us the aforesaid nation (Namaquas) as well as all the other tribes, for in case the latter came hither, he feared that the pastures would become too scanty for him, and that he would also become less respected. This the great Chariguriquas [Great Grigriquas], who have seceded from the Saldanhars, gave us to understand. They reside at the aforesaid Olifant's River, between which and the Namaquas lies the aforesaid dry and salt territory. The Sonquas [San], also, or mountain tribe, who, like the Chariguriquas, are allied to the Namaquas, mentioned this plainly to our people, saying that Oedasoa had advised the Namaquas not to come to the place agreed upon last year, making them believe it was our intention to injure them with a hidden force of men, &c.; so that, according to them (Sonquas), they (Namaquas) had retired through fear. Our men had, however, employed the chief of the Chariguriquas and some of his men, and sent them, as if postrunners, with a few presents across the dry salty region towards the Namaquas. Their journey to and fro lasted 10 days. They had informed the Namaquas of the arrival of our people at the appointed place, but the aforesaid had sent word back that at present it was impossible for them to meet us, so that our men had to turn back. We find, now if the distances travelled by our men had been added up, that they had reached within 18 or 20 Dutch miles of the city mentioned in Linschoten's map as Vigit Magna, situated at, beyond, or on the N. side of a large river, called by us now the River Vigit Magna [Great / Orange River?], which, according to the aforesaid chart, passes through the lake of Gale, between which and the Olifant's River, according to the annexed charts, may be seen marked the dry region which is so difficult to cross. But if once it has been crossed, we shall, no doubt, not only find the Namaquas having their residences at and along the River of Vigit Magna, but also many other nations. But the difficulty will be to cross the river Vigit Magna; however, further exploration may give us more knowledge, and when once we have obtained that, we shall have to see to get further; for there is no longer any difficulty connected with the journey hence to the furthest point of the Olifant's River, a distance of 110 Dutch miles, but the 40 miles distance thence to the river Vigit Magna seems to create all the difficulty, the country being without water, dry and salt. At some future time, however, some smart dare-devils will no doubt make further investigations, whilst a rendezvous with the cattle and provisions may be established at the Olifant's River. The last travellers do not seem averse to this proposal, and only regret it that they did not know that they had been so near. They therefore hope that their next journey will secure them a further and better success (Leibrandt 1900: 218-220).



## 2 LINGUISTIC INQUIRY

5 May 1662: Note that the Hottentoo [Khoe] terminations of *qua* and *na* in the names of tribes, have the same meaning, e.g. *Choboqua* or *Chobona*, *Namaqua* or *Namana*, and so forth (Leibrandt 1900: 242).

### 2.1 THE SUFFIXES -QUA(S), -QUE(S) AND -NA(S)

1. The suffixes -qua(s) and -na(s) have the same meaning and denotes **people**.
2. The double use of the suffixes -qua(s) and -na(s) means **people of the people** or the Khoe people(s):
  - [-qua(s)][-qua(s)] = Quaqua(s) = *people of the people / the Khoe people*
  - [-qua(s)][-na(s)] = Quana(s) = *people of the people / the Khoe people*
3. The early Dutch identified notable variety in the languages—or dialects—of the Khoe that they described principally as a southern vs northern Khoe language. The southern tribes used the suffix -qua(s) while many northern tribes used -que(s):
  - [-que(s)][-que(s)] = Queque(s) = *people of the people / the Khoe people*
  - [-que(s)][-na(s)] = Quena(s) = *people of the people / the Khoe people*
4. In summary, the use among the southern tribes of Quaqua(s) or Quana(s) and many northern tribes of Queque(s) or Quena(s) to describe the Khoe people is a linguistic / dialect difference: Quaqua(s), Quana(s), Queque(s) and Quena(s) all mean *people of the people / the Khoe people*.

#### NOTES:

- The Khoe did not have a written language. Early tribal names—whether recorded by the Dutch or another European people—were phonetically interpreted by recorders and written down resulting in significant difference in spelling.
- KhoiSan languages—including all the Khoe languages / dialects—are *click languages*: consonants are pronounced as clicks. Early recorders interpreted the “new sounds” or *clicks* differently resulting in the different spelling of tribal names and other Khoe words, and with cognisance to Khoe linguistic / dialect differences.
- The Khoe term *Quena(s)* should not be confused with *Kwena*. The *baKwena* is a Tswana tribe. The *Tswana* is an Iron Age (Bantu / Ba’Ntu) farmer people.



5 May 1662. Note that the Hottentoo [Khoë] terminations of *qua* and *na* in the names of tribes, have the same meaning, e.g. *Choboqua* or *Chobona*, *Namaqua* or *Namana*, and so forth (Leibrandt 1900: 242).

## 2.2 TRIBAL NAMES

1. The Khoë is an eponymous society; tribes were, thus, named after the founding father of the tribe:
  - [Chobo][-qua(s)] / [-na(s)] = Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s) = the Chobo people / tribe, or the people of Chobo.
    - Chobo (first name) was the founding father of the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s) tribe.
  - [Chainou][-qua(s)] / [-na(s)] = Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) = the Chainou people / tribe, or the people of Chainou.
    - Chainou (first name) was the founding father of the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) tribe.
  - [Hancum][-qua(s)] / [-na(s)] = Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s) = the Hancum people / tribe, or the people of Hancum.
    - Hancum (first name) was the founding father of the Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s) tribe.
  - [Nama][-qua(s)] / [-na(s)] = Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) = the Nama people / tribe, or the people of Nama.
    - Nama (first name) was the founding father of the Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) tribe.
2. Tribes from the north-east often dropped the suffixes –qua(s) or -na(s) in tribal names for an –(s) only: the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s) tribe was referred to as the Chobo(s), the Chainouquas(s) / Chainouna(s) as the Chainou(s), the Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s) as the Hancum(s) and the Namaqua(s) / Namana(s) and the Nama(s).
3. The paramount chief of a tribe was addressed—as respects address (r/a)—after the founding father of the tribe irrespective of the chief's first name. In the mid seventeenth century, the paramount chief of the Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) tribe—or the Great chief of the Great Chainouquas—was a man by the first name of Sousoa, but he was addressed as *the Chainouqua*. Likewise, the use of *the Chobona*, *the Namaqua* or *the Hancumqua* in the early Dutch records are respects addresses of the paramount chiefs of the tribes (or alternatively refers to the tribes themselves). Sousoa, of the Chainouqua, was the only paramount chief of the four most prominent Khoë tribes known by first name to the Dutch consequent to his personal visit to the Cape of Good Hope station. The early Dutch met only Sousoa in person; they never met *the Chobona*, *the Hancumqua* or *the Namaqua* in person.

### NOTES:

- With the standardisation of native languages (starting from c. 1850 onward) the Khoë suffixes were standardized to –qua in English and –kwa in Afrikaans i.e., *Namaqua* (English) and *Namakwa* (Afrikaans).



5 May 1662: Note that the Hottentoo [Khoë] terminations of *qua* and *na* in the names of tribes, have the same meaning, e.g. *Choboqua* or *Chobona*, *Namaqua* or *Namana*, and so forth (Leibrandt 1900: 242).

## 2.3 TRIBAL EXPANSION AND TRIBAL NAMES

1. The Khoë tribal name system is based on a two-tiered “Great”–“Little” system. Every tribe had two leading clans: a “Great” and a “Little” i.e., the Great Namaqua(s) and the Little Namaqua(s). The Great Namaqua(s) was the leading Namaqua(s) clan and their chief was *the Namaqua* [r/a], the paramount chief of the Namaqua(s). The Little Namaqua(s) was the second-most important Namaqua(s) clan and their chief was the second-most important Namaqua(s) chief, or second-in-charge to *the Namaqua*. The Namaqua(s) tribe, thus, comprised the Great Namaqua(s), the Little Namaqua(s) and various other Namaqua(s) clans. The “Great”–“Little” tribal system has been best conserved among the Namaqua(s).

Tribal expansion occurred firstly by the increase in size of their clans and secondly by their number of clans. In neither case did the tribal name change. (Clans were, however, sometimes known by their clan name.)



5 May 1662: Note that the Hottentoo [Khoe] terminations of *qua* and *na* in the names of tribes, have the same meaning, e.g. *Choboqua* or *Chobona*, *Namaqua* or *Namana*, and so forth (Leibrandt 1900: 242).

## TRIBAL EXPANSION AND TRIBAL NAMES (CONT. 1/1)

2. Tribal expansion by means of the establishment of independent sub-sectioned tribes retained the eponymous structure of tribal naming to confirm tribal as well as social and political affiliation, and is explained as:

➤ [Founding father of the parental tribe's name][Founding father of the sub-sectioned tribe's name][-qua(s)] / [-na(s)] = [Independent sub-sectioned tribal name].

Two of the four principal Khoe tribes of the mid seventeenth century are known to have had sub-sectioned tribes, the Choboqua(s) and the Chainouqua(s):

- 2.1 Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s): sub-sectioned tribe → **Chobobiqua(s) / Chobobina(s)**

➤ [Chobo][Bi][-qua(s)] / [-na(s)] = **Chobobiqua(s) / Chobobina(s)**

- Le Vaillant (1796a, 1796b) reports on the Chobobiqua(s) as the **Kabobiquois** in his 1783–1785 journey to the **Gonaquois** [or Chainouqua(s) / Gonaqua(s)] of Natal.

- 2.2 Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s): sub-sectioned tribe → **Gorachouqua(s) / Gorachouna(s)**

The tribal name Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) is the tribal name with the most spelling variants: they are also recorded as the Gonaqua(s) / Gonana(s), Goroqua(s) / Gorona(s), Koraqua(s) / Korana(s) as well as the Goraqua(s) / Gorana(s). To explain the Chainouqua(s) sub-sectioned tribal name Gorachauqua(s) / Gorachauna(s), the parental tribal name spelling of Goraqua(s) / Gorana(s) is used.

➤ [Gora][Chau][-qua(s)] / [-na(s)] = **Gorachauqua(s) / Gorachauna(s)**

- Van Riebeeck and his men met the Gorachauqua(s) upon their arrival at the Cape in 1652. The Gorachauqua(s) is argued to have been a recently formed sub-sectioned tribe of the Chainouqua(s) / Goraqua(s) because they reported to the Dutch that their chief's name was **Chau**; the sub-sectioned tribal chief at the time was also the founding father of the sub-sectioned tribe. However, Chau introduced himself by his respects address, the *Chauqua* [r/a]. *Chauqua* was not only misunderstood as his (first) name but also varyingly recorded by the Dutch as "Chousa" and "Choura":

"5 March 1659 – The Gorachauqua alias Gorachauna, under the chief Chousa, the tobacco thieves" (Leibrandt 1900: 94).

"4 June 1659 – The tobacco thieves, who are called the Gorachauqua under their chief Choura, who has alone 6 or 700 fighting men, and is fairly rich in cattle" (Leibrandt 1900: 122).

- Another Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) sub-sectioned tribe is the Gonakwabequa(s) / Gonakwabena(s), or Gonakwabe(s) / Gqunukhwebe(s) [isiXhosa].



5 May 1662: Note that the Hottentoo [Khoe] terminations of *qua* and *na* in the names of tribes, have the same meaning, e.g. *Chobogua* or *Chobona*, *Namaqua* or *Namana*, and so forth (Leibrandt 1900: 242).

## 2.4 DUTCH NAMING OF THE KHOE: SALDANHARS, HOTTENTOO(S) / HOTTENTOT(S) AND OTTENTOO(S)

1. *Saldanhars* is a geo-spatial reference of the area northward of the Cape of Good Hope station. Many Cape Khoе frequently settled at Saldanha; migratory Khoе also often settled there on route to trade with the Dutch or when passing through the area on their pastoral pursuits. The *Saldanhars* are Khoе.
2. The origin of the terms *Hottentoo(s)* and *Ottentoo(s)*—or *Hottentot(s)*—is disputed. Raven-Hart (1976: 101), in his translation of the officer Augistine de Beaulieu's notes, 1620, opines the terms as mimicry of the Khoе's language:

They speak from the throat, and seem to sob and sign when speaking. Their usual greeting on meeting us is to dance a song, of which the beginning, the middle and the end is “hautitou”.

However, the terms may be derivative of a tribal name. The early Dutch initially recorded the *Houteniqua(s)* / *Outeniqua(s)* as the *Houtunqua*, *Outunqua*, etc. and they may be the same people as the *Attaqua*. Theal (1910) comments on the eastern Ntu root word for the San being **Twa** while the Bantu / Ba'Ntu had no specific word for the Khoе of the interior: *Twa* was used by them for the KhoiSan of the interior. The Khoе tribal root name variants **Houtun[-qua(s)]** or **Outun[-qua(s)]** combined with the Ntu [-**twa**] for the KhoiSan results in:

- [Houtun][-**twa**] = Houtuntwa(s) → pronounced as *Hot-ten-tooh(s)* = Hottentoo(s)
- [Outun][-**twa**] = Outuntwa(s) → pronounced as *Ot-ten-tooh(s)* = Ottentoo(s)

*Hottentoo(s)* and *Ottentoo(s)* are, therefore, argued derivatives of the *Houteniqua(s)* / *Outeniqua(s)* tribes—[Houtun][**twa(s)**] / KhoiSan or [Outun][-**twa(s)**] / Khoisan—as originally communicated by eastern Bantu / Ba'Ntu tribes.

3. The terms *Hottentoo(s)* and *Ottentoo(s)* were in use before the establishment of the Dutch station at the Cape of Good Hope, and including by Jan Huygen Van Linschoten.

### NOTES:

- The terms *Hottentoo(s)* and *Ottentoo(s)* fell into disuse and were standardised to *Hottentot(s)*. *Hottentot(s)* is considered an archaic term: while the term is used in historical contexts use thereof in ex-Africana contexts is regularly considered offensive.



5 May 1662: Note that the Hottentoo [Khoë] terminations of *qua* and *na* in the names of tribes, have the same meaning, e.g. *Choboqua* or *Chobona*, *Namaqua* or *Namana*, and so forth (Leibrandt 1900: 242).

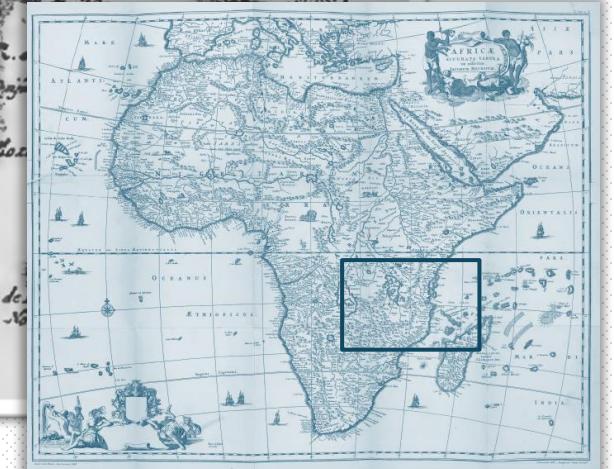
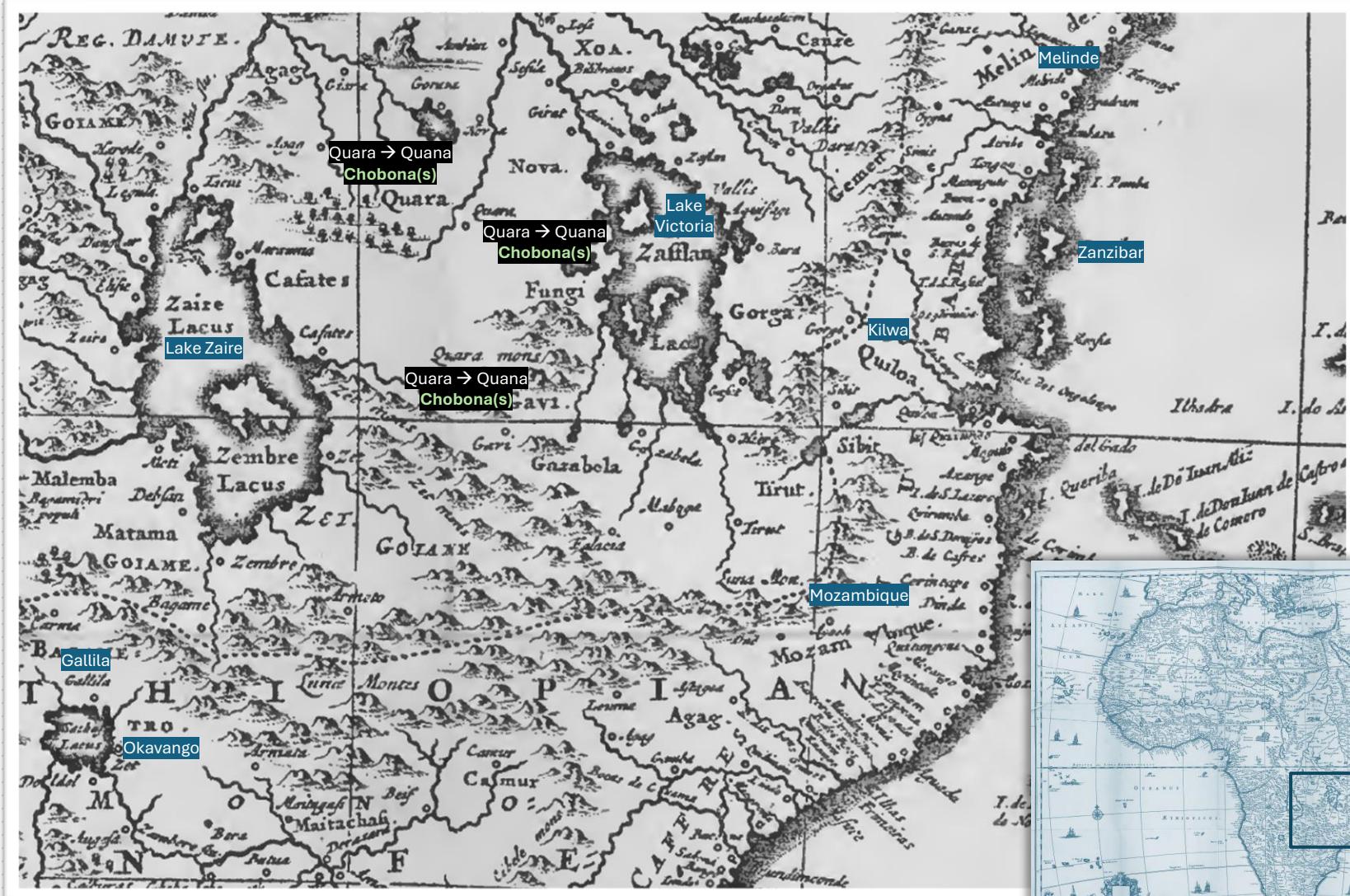
## 2.5 THE EARLY DUTCH REFERENCE TO “VIGITI MAGNA”

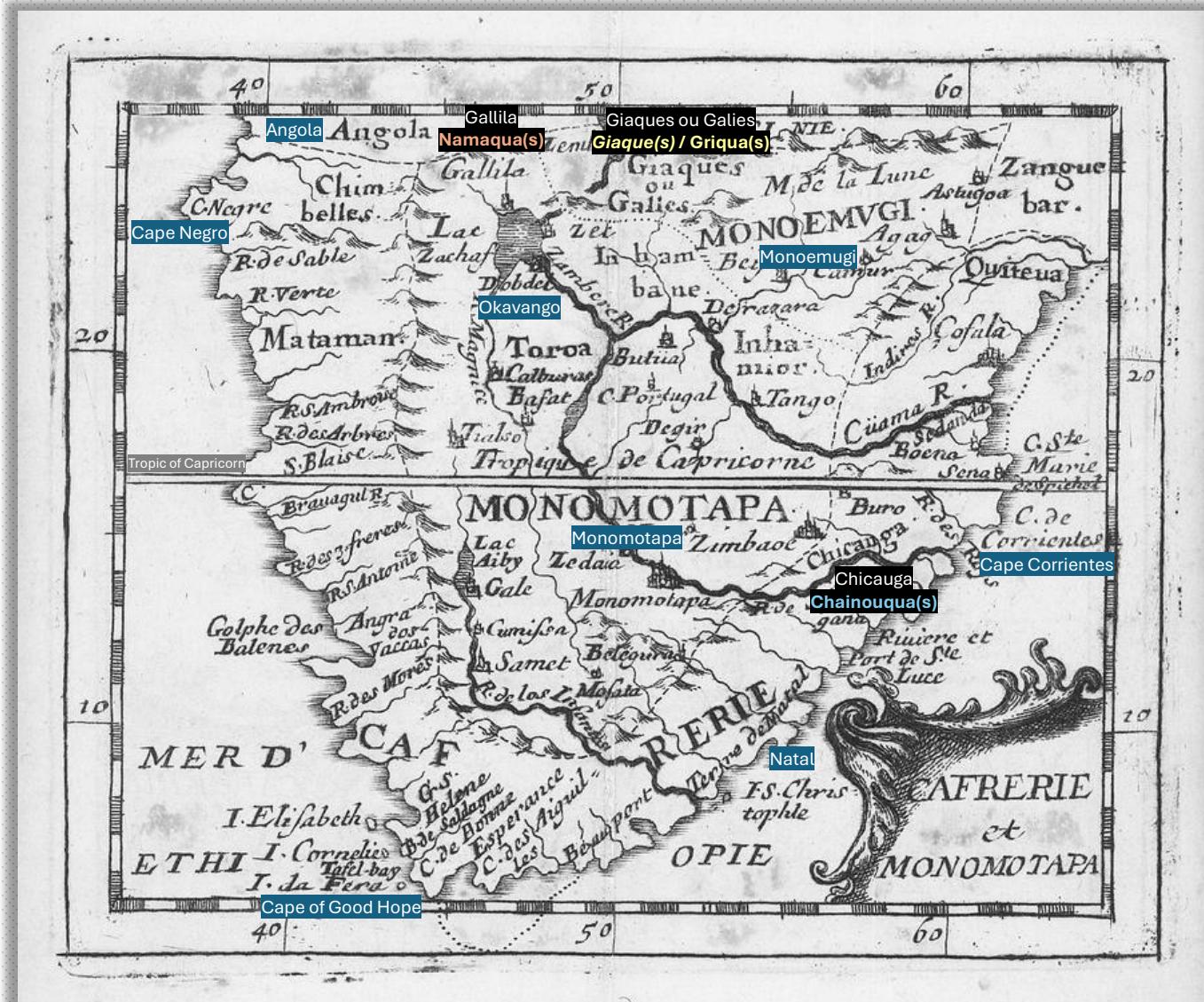
1. Jan Huygen Van Linschoten (1563–1611) was a native of Haarlem, Holland. In 1580 he moved to Seville, Spain, and soon thereafter departed on his first voyage to Goa in the East Indies, then sailing for the Spanish Crown. During his travels and from the Portuguese refreshment station at the Island of Mozambique, Van Linschoten also explored the interior of the African continent. In 1597 his travelogue, *Itinerario: Voyage ofte Schipvaert van Jan Huygen Van Linschoten near Oost ofte Portugaels Indien 1579–1592*, was published (and translated to English in 1598). The early Dutch at the Cape were familiar with Van Linschoten’s *Itinerario* in which reference is made to both the city and river *Vigiti Magna*.
2. The Latin *Vigiti Magna* translates to “great place” (*magna* = great), whether it refers to a city or river: the *great city* or the *great river*. It is argued that the river *Vigiti Magna* (Latin) is the Portuguese *Rio de Magnice* (*magnice* = great / magnificent). The *Rio de Magnice* is today known as the Sabi River or the Sabie–Komati river system of Mpumalanga and Mozambique.
3. The city (or town / large village) of *Vigiti Magna* is recorded at a notable distance from the river *Vigiti Magna* toward the interior of South Africa along the Great / Orange River (Du Val, c. 1730).
4. The early Dutch mistook Van Linschoten’s river *Vigiti Magna* (the Sabi River / Sabie–Komati river system) for the Great / Orange River.

# 3 ANTIQUE MAP INQUIRY



**R.W. Murray (author)**  
**shed:** London, 1891 (copy)  
*Africae Accurata Tabula et  
na Iacobum Meursem*  
**(source):** South Africa from  
domination to British rule  
)).



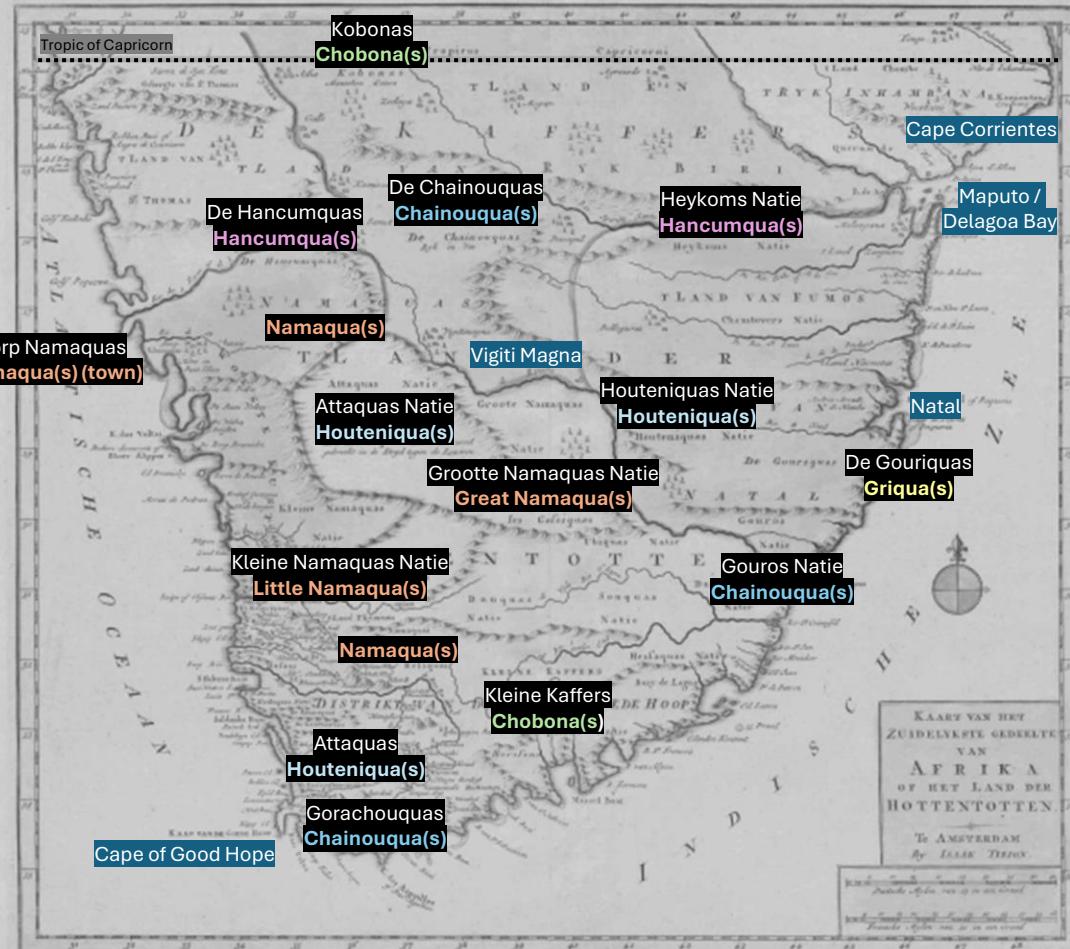


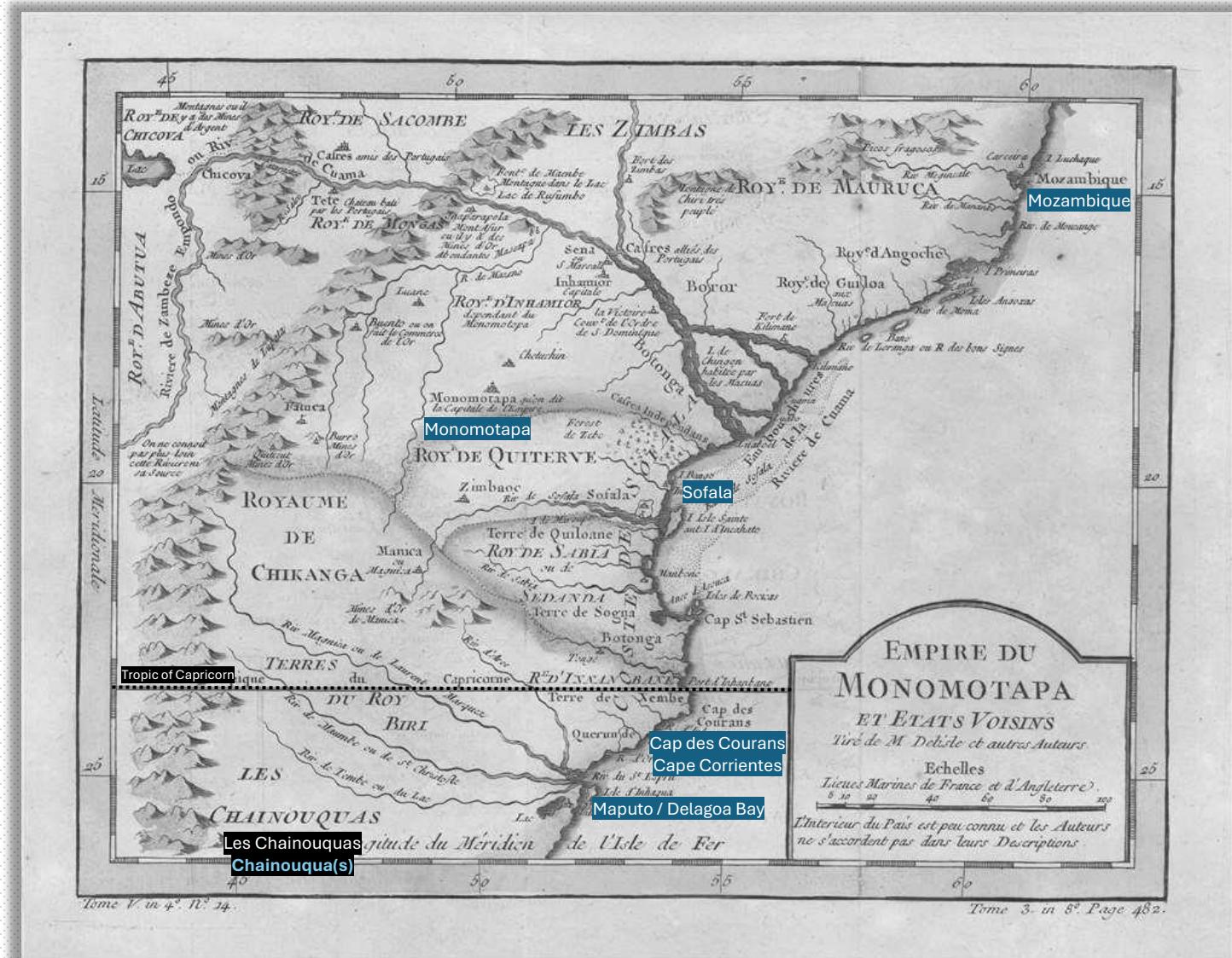
Pierre Du Val  
Published: Paris, c. 1663  
Map: CAFRERIE et MONOMOTAPA



**Isaak Tirion**

**Published:** Amsterdam, c. 1730  
**Map:** *Kaart van het Zuidelykste Gedeelte van Afrika of het Land der Hottentotten*

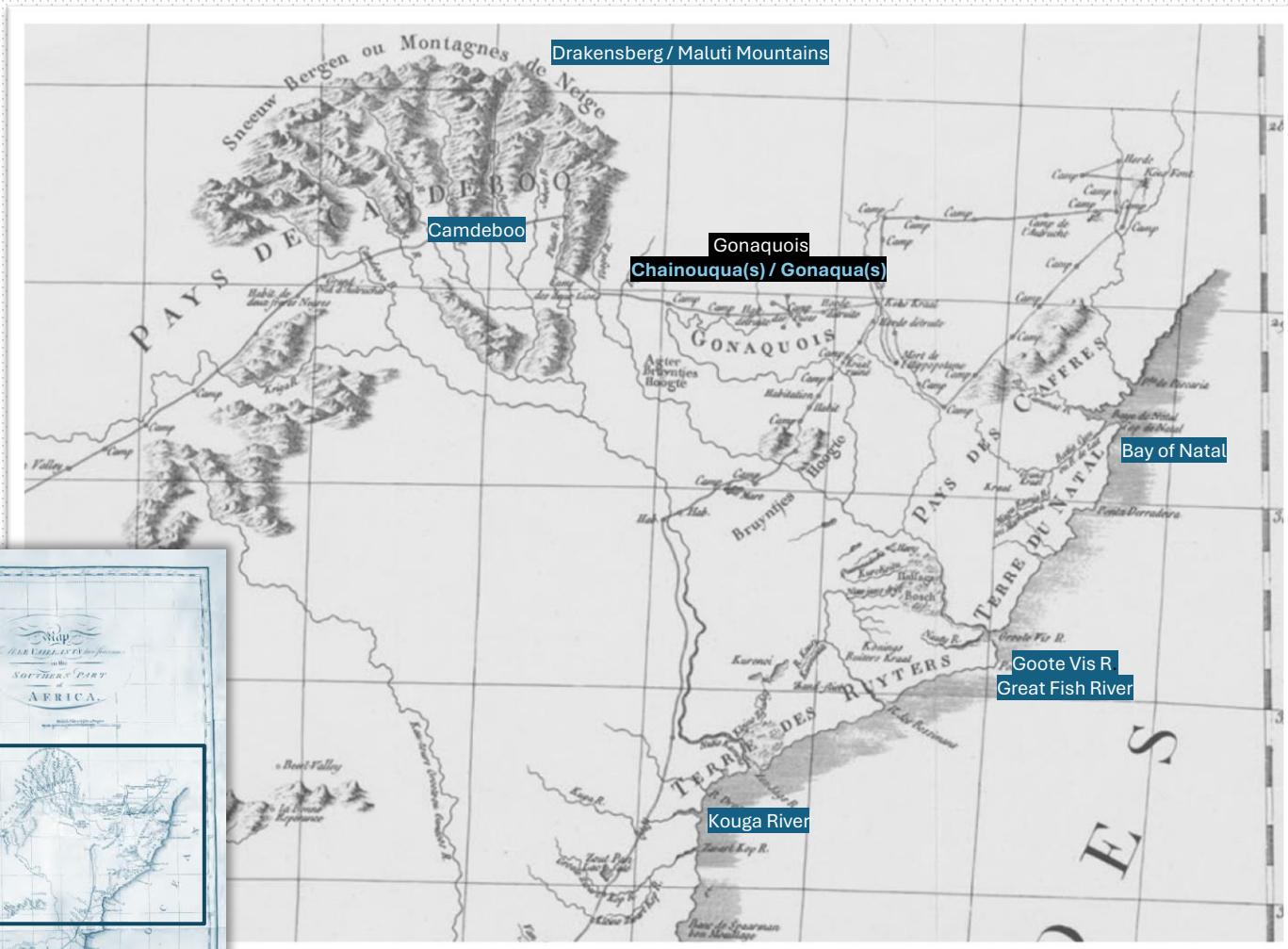




**Jaques-Nicolas Bellin**

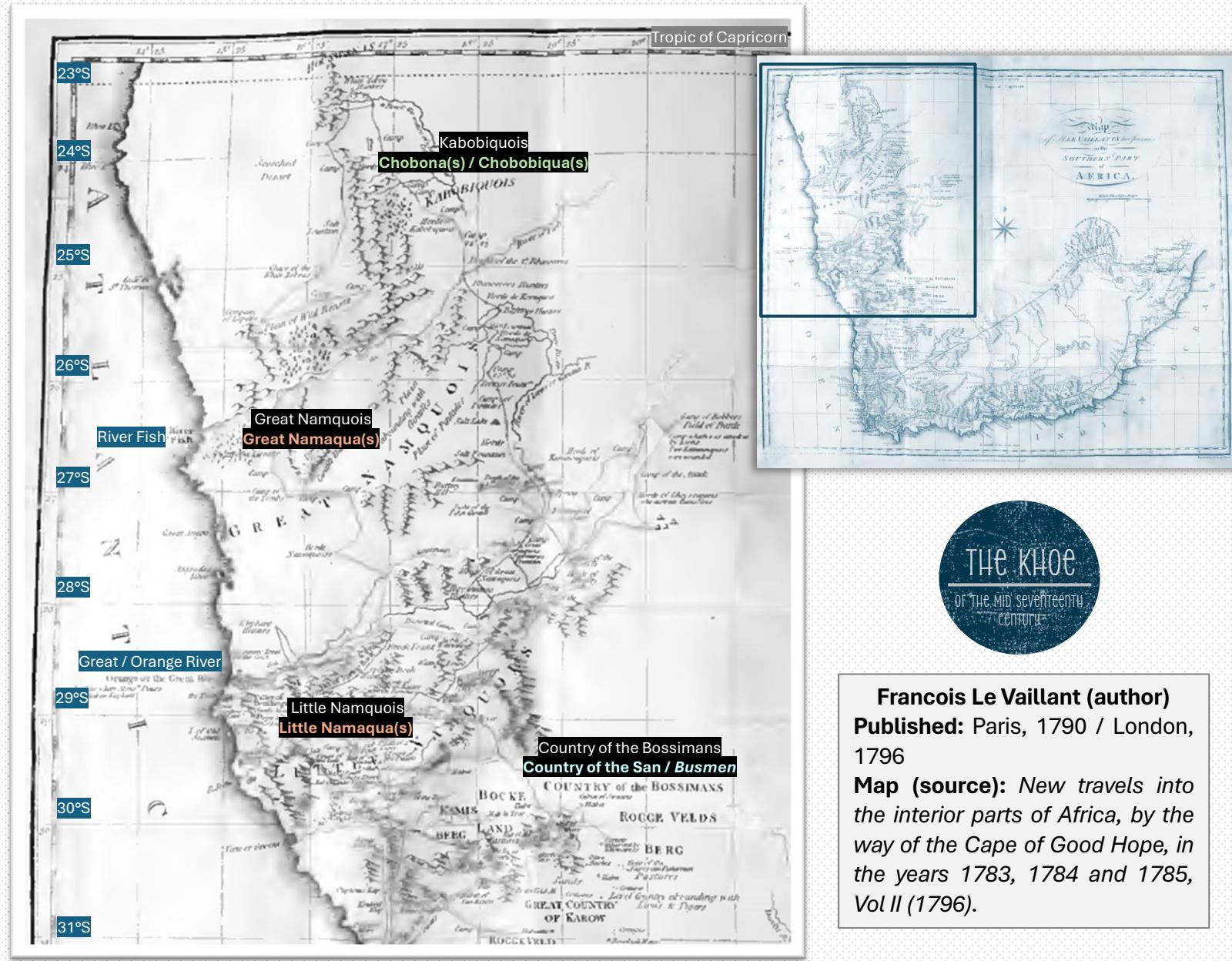
**Published:** Paris, c. 1747

**Map:** Empire du Monomotapa et Etats Voisins



**Francois Le Vaillant (author)**  
**Published:** Paris, 1790 / London, 1796

**Map (source):** *New travels into the interior parts of Africa, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, in the years 1783, 1784 and 1785, Vol II (1796).*



THE KHOE  
OF THE MID SEVENTEENTH  
CENTURY

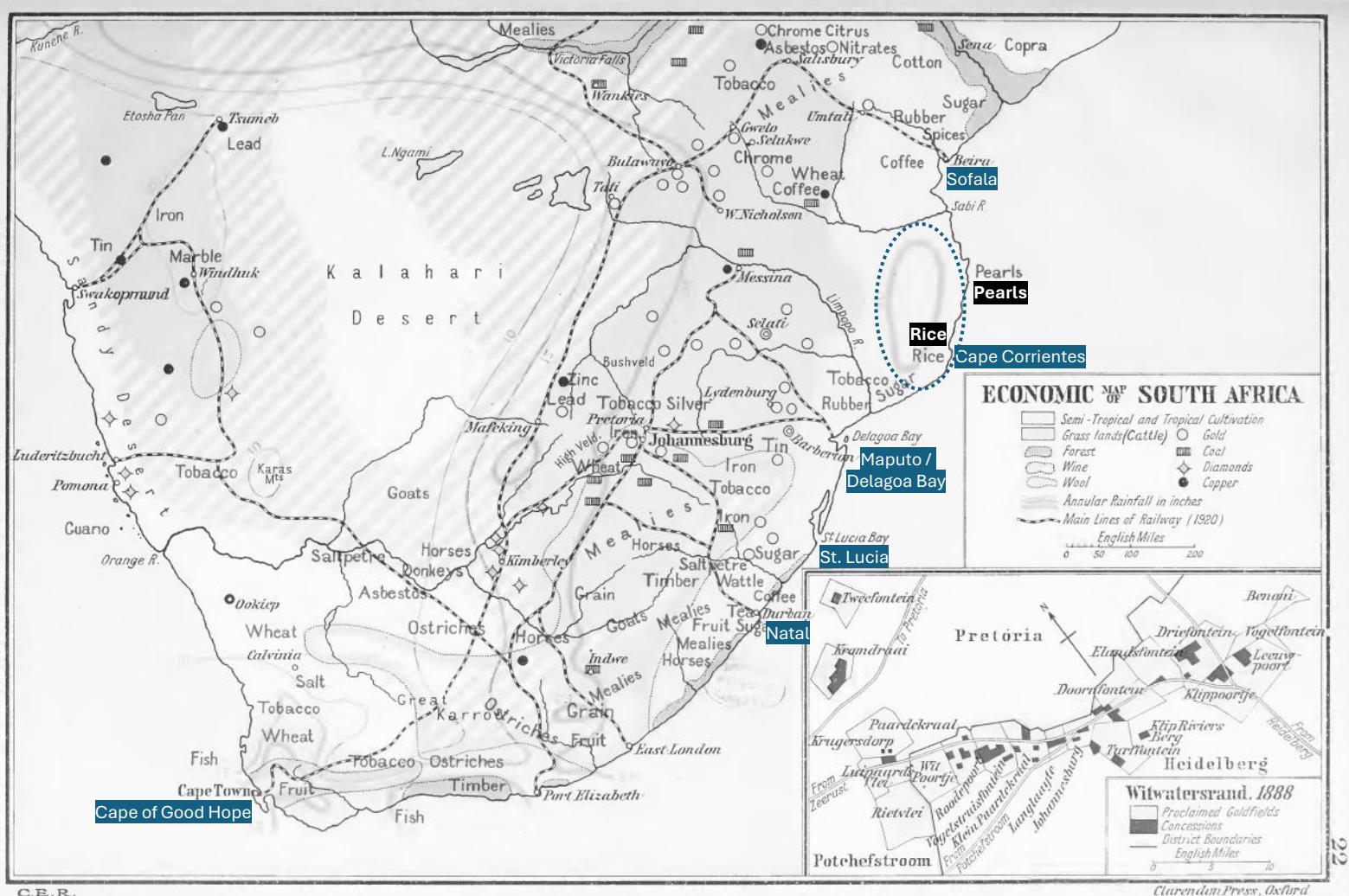
Francois Le Vaillant (author)

Published: Paris, 1790 / London, 1796

Map (source): *New travels into the interior parts of Africa, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, in the years 1783, 1784 and 1785, Vol II (1796).*

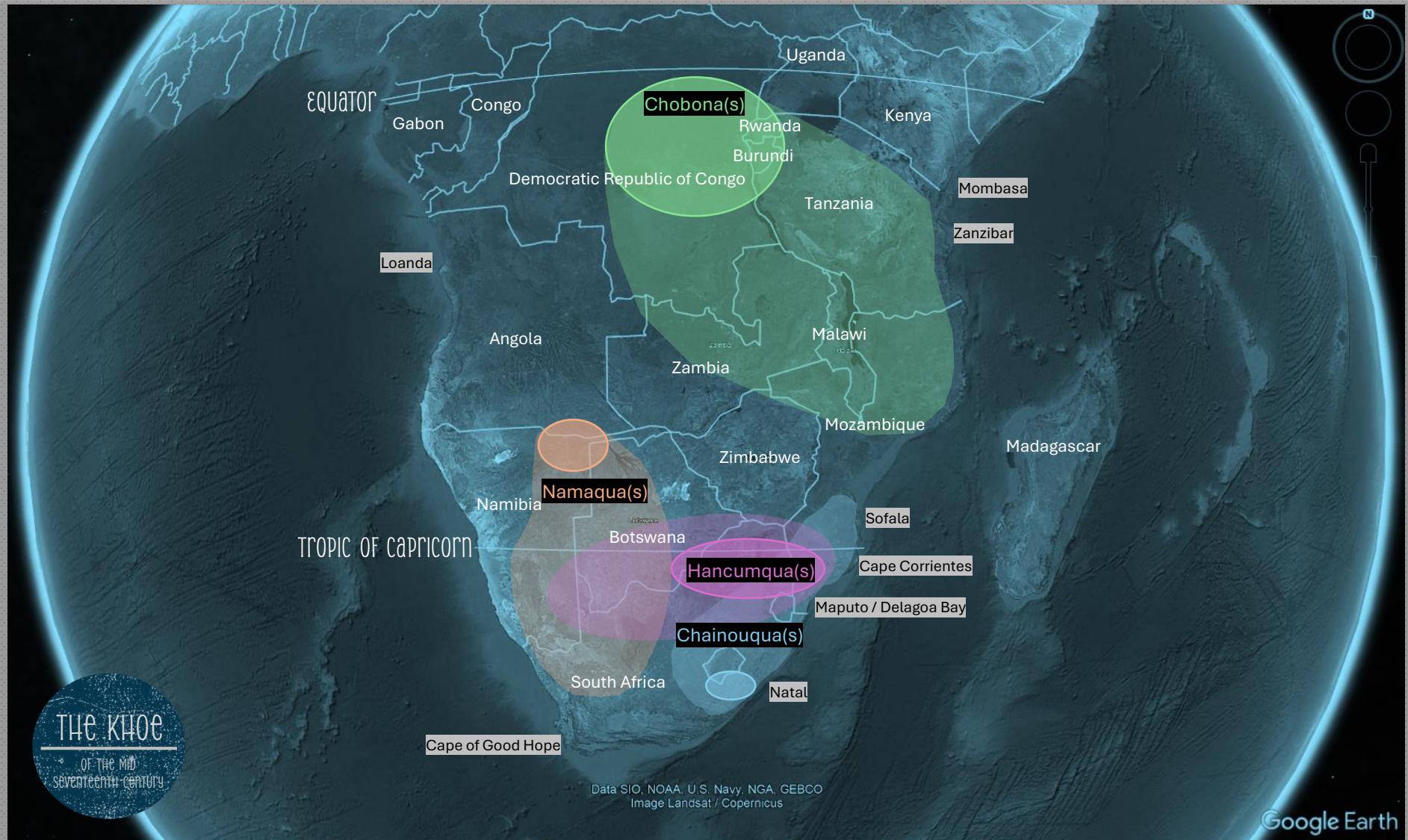


**Eric A. Walker (author)**  
**Published:** Oxford, 1922  
**Map:** Economic map of South Africa  
**Map (source):** Historical atlas of South Africa.



## 4 CONCLUSION

PRINCIPAL RESIDINGS OF THE FOUR MOST PROMINENT KHOE TRIBES IN THE MID SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



- Following Van Riebeeck's departure from the Cape for Batavia in 1662, Zacharias Wagenaar (1614–1668) was appointed VOC commander of the Cape of Good Hope. From the time of Wagenaar's appointment, Khoë reports on the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s) decrease notably and then disappears. Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s) visits to the Cape of Good Hope station, likewise, decreased, and in time also reports on them.
- The impression gleaned from the early Dutch records is that the north-eastern socio-political and geo-spatial stronghold of the Khoë fell sometime after 1662. By 1806, at the time of the second British annexation of the Cape, demographics reflected that of the present day, namely that the Khoë—or the Khoë-KhoiSan—resides in the western part of southern Africa and along the southern Cape coast.
- Before the fall of *the Chobona*, north-eastern Khoë tribes resided in mosaic-like manner among Later Stone Age (LSA) San and Iron Age (Bantu / Ba'Ntu) farmer peoples: the southern African north-eastern Iron Age vs south-western LSA KhoiSan divide is a post-1662 / mid seventeenth century demographic change consequent to the impact of wars in the north-east associated with significant southward Later Iron Age (LIA) migration and the fall of *the Chobona* on Khoë socio-political dominance, power and residency in the region.

RELOCATING THE FOUR PRINCIPAL KHÖË TRIBES OF THE MID SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



*The Kabobiquas [Chobobiquas] spoke a particular language; and this dialect, though accompanied with the clapping noise of the Hottentots [Khoe], was understood only by the Koraquas [Chainouquas], who, on account of their vicinity, kept up some intercourse with them.*

*The case was the same with the language of the Koraquas, in regard to their neighbours the Nimiquas [Namaquas]. When the chief of the horde, therefore, wished to speak to me, he addressed what he had to say to my Koraquas, who translated it for the Nimiquas into their language; and the latter, translating it in their turn, transmitted it to the Hottentots of Klaas Baster's horde, who explained it to me in theirs. The same method was employed with my answers. Nothing reached my ear till it had passed through four different mouths (Le Vaillant 1796b: 70–71).*

## 4.1 THE CHOBOQUA(S) / CHOBONA(S)

1. It is unknown exactly where the reported distant north / north-eastern principal residing of the Choboqua(s) / Chobona(s) was in the mid seventeenth century. A general Congolean homeland situated between Lake Zasslan (Lake Victoria)—a central aspect of the ancient Empire of Monoemugi—and Lake Zaire / Zembre is recorded by Murray (1891) with reference to various **Quara** villages, c. 1575.

Murray's (1891) *Quara* is inferred to designate Chobona(s) villages: Quara = [Qua][-a(s)] / [Qua][-ha(s)] = Quana(s). *Quara* / *Quana*(s) not only denotes *people of the people* but the early Dutch reported the informal interpretation of the term as the *golden peoples* and the Chobona(s) was the principal northern *golden people*.

- Cavazzi and Labat (1732) describe the invasion of Zimbo, king / chief of the muZimbas, in the Congo, c. 1575, when Zimbo exterminated or subjugated many of the tribes, including the Chilomba and *Giaques*—or the Griqua(s) / Grina(s). After the subjugation of the *Giaque*(s) / Griqua(s), Zimbo appointed new chiefs—or calendas—over them and renamed them the *Giaques Cassange*. Some *Giaque*(s) / Griqua(s), however, survived Zimbo's invasion of their homeland and a significant section of them is recorded residing north-east of the Okavango in c. 1663 (see Du Val's *Cafrerie et Monomotapa*).
- Following Zimbo's invasion of the Congo, he attacked the Portuguese fort at Tete, Mozambique, after which he started a series of offensives northward along the African east coast to as far north as Melinde, Kenya. At Melinde he was defeated in battle by the King of Melinde. Upon their defeat Zimbo's surviving troops broke up into smaller platoons. Zimbo and his platoon, including the *Giaques Cassange*, travelled all the way to the Cape of Good Hope. Finding nothing of value there, Zimbo turned back north and settled in the Namibian–Angolan borderlands (Cavazzi & Labat 1732).
- Murray (1891) confirms the basic history recorded by Cavazzi and Labat (1732) albeit from a south-eastern Portuguese perspective. It is unknown if and to what degree Zimbo's invasion of the Congo had affected the Chobona(s). The main value of Murray's record of events for purposes of the re/construction of Khoe history is his map indicating the *Quara* or Chobona(s) villages in the Congo.

## THE CHOBOQUA(S) / CHOBONA(S) (CONT. 1/1)

2. In 1657 a Chainouqua(s) report to the Dutch confirmed an English slave raiding incident in Chobonar when many Chobona(s) were taken away as slaves by the English (Leibrandt 1897b). The reported slave raiding incident did not result in the fall of the *Chobona* but it certainly did weaken the tribe. Subsequent slave raiding by the English, or another Western or Eastern / Asian or African people conjoint with reported wars in the north-east ultimately resulted in the demise of the *Chobona* and his tribe.

Slaving was a key economic activity in the mid seventeenth century, directly associated with Western, Eastern and African economic and cultural practices.

- The reported Chobona(s) slaving incident by the English signals a Chobona(s) coastal territory of occupation or reach underscoring their reported economic practices and customs with reference to golden coins and pearls for trade purposes (Leibrandt 1897b). Coins, resembling the description of the Chobona(s) coinage practice have been found in archaeological excavations along the central-east African coast. Moreover, pearls could only have been harvested along the coastline and with a known Eastern trade market along the east coast.
- Although it is inferred that Chobona(s) coastal territory in the mid seventeenth century was sited centrally along the African east coast, Walker's 1922 *Economic map of South Africa*, curiously, indicates two core Chobona(s) economic activities, the planting of rice and the harvesting of pearls (Leibrandt 1897b), somewhat southward in or toward Chainouqua(s) territory between Sofala and Cape Corrientes. It is unknown if this southward manifestation of originally reported Choboqua(s) economic aspects should be interpreted as a southward displacement of (a section of) the Chobona(s).

3. Tirion, c. 1730, *Kaart van het [...] Land der Hottentotten*, records a section of the Chobona(s) as the **Kobonas**, then residing in central Namibia–Botswana. An annotation to Tirion's *Kobonas* record renders them as "Menschen Eeters" or cannibals.

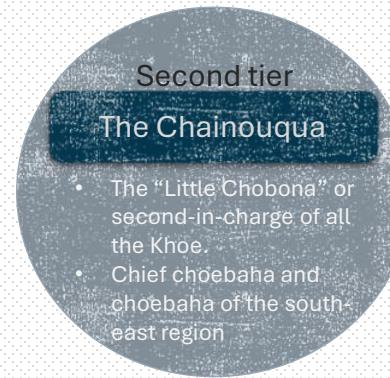
Le Vaillant reports on his meeting in 1783–1785 with a section of the **Kabobiquois** [Chobobiqua(s)]—an independent sub-sectioned tribe of the Chobona(s)—at a central-southern Namibian locale, northward of the *Great Namquois* [Great Namaqua(s)]. He describes the *Kabobiquois* as, “In stature [...] as tall as the Caffres [Zulu–Xhosa cluster], and their colour is equally black” (Le Vaillant 1796b: 62). Based on the physical description of the *Kabobiquois* / Chobobiqua(s) by Le Vaillant, it is reasonable to infer that Tirion's **Kleine Kaffers** residing toward the southern Cape coast designates a Choboqua(s) / Chobobiqua(s) section.



## 4.2 THE CHAINOUQUA(S) / CHAINOUNA(S)

De Kobonas [Chobonas], een wiens lant de Chainouquas na by gelegen zijn, is een heel zwart volk ... Deze zijn rechte mensch-eters ... Zy hebben ook vee ... en planten kalbassen, dear zy zich mede erneren ... Not heft eenigh Neerlander van de Kaep by deze volkeren geweest, ter oorzaeke van de verre te landen in (Nienaber 1989: 253, quoting Dapper 1668).

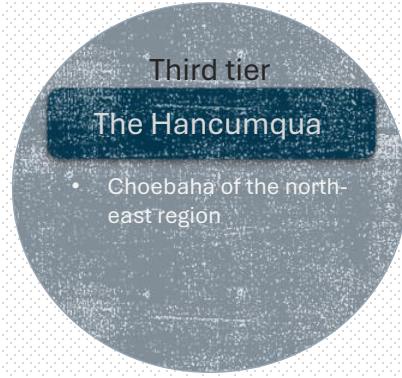
The Chobonas, whose land is near that of the Chainouqua(s), is a very black nation ... They are cannibals ... They also have livestock ... and they plant gourds, work that they conduct with great seriousness ... No Dutchman from the Cape has ever visited these nations, because of the distance of their lands [from the Cape] (Transl. KvR, 2024).



The Koraquas [Chainouquas] [...] are tall, and consequently of greater stature than the Hottentots [Khoë] of the colonies. My Hottentots, for instance, reached only to their shoulders; but, notwithstanding this difference of size, and that of their cheeks which are less prominent, and though their skins are blacker, I believe them to be descended from the same race. At any rate they have the same language and customs as the Nimiquas [Namaquas] their neighbours, who are certainly of Hottentot extraction (Le Vaillant 1796b: 18–19).

1. Du Val's, c. 1663, *Cafrerie et Monomotapa*, record of the **Chicauga** [Chainouqua] positions the inferred rough northern reach of Chainouqua(s) territory just southward of Cape Corrientes, Mozambique, along the river *Vigiti Magna*—or the Sabie River / Sabie–Komati river system—at the time of the Dutch establishment of the Cape of Good Hope station in 1662.
2. Bellin's, c. 1747, *Empire du Monomotapa Etats Voisins*, is of interest for three main reasons:
  - Cape Corrientes is recorded as **Cap des Courans** [French] which translates in English to *Cape of the Korana(s)*. Courans, Courana, Coranna etc. are early spellings for Korana(s)—and used as such also during early British colonial times—while Koraqua(s) / Korana(s) is a variant spelling of Chainouqua(s) / Chainouna(s), thus, confirming Cape Corrientes as a (previously known) cape / place of the Chainouqua(s).
  - A large section of **Les Chainouquas** [Chainouquas] is recorded just south of Cape Corrientes, inland from Maputo / Delagoa Bay.
  - Bellin's map confirms the presence of the Chainouqua(s) in the greater Cape Corrientes region to as late as c. 1747.
3. Tirion, c. 1730, *Kaart van het [...] Land der Hottentotten*, records a significant **De Chainouquas** [Chainouqua(s)] section in the southern Botswana–Northern Cape region with the annotation “Ryk in Vee” or *rich in livestock*. South of Natal, the **Gouros Natie** [Gouros nation] most likely indicates the Chainouqua(s) military section of the Chobona's army then embroiled in war with the Xhosa (Theal 1898, 1910). Gouros is explained as:
  - [Gouro][-qua(s)] / [-na(s)] = Goroqua(s) / Gorona(s) but with the suffixes -qua(s) or -na(s) replaced with the north-eastern custom of an –s only, thus, [Gouro][-s] / [Goro][-s] = Goros.Near the Cape of Good Hope the **Gorachauquas** represents an independant subsectioned tribe of the Chainouqua(s).
4. Le Vaillant (1796a) recorded numerous **Gonaquois** [Chainouqua(s) / Gonaqua(s)] camp sites spread across the greater Natal region and to a lesser extent in the northern Eastern Cape during his 1783–1785 visit to the Chainouqua(s) of Natal.

Tirion's **Gouros Natie** and Le Vaillant's **Gonaquois** camp site records are the nearest to the inferred Great Chainouqua(s) principal residing in the southern foothills of the Maluti-Drakensberg mountains, recored as 30 days' march distant from the Cape of Good Hope station (Leibrandt 1879b). A rough coastal route gives a journey distance of approximately 1,200km or some 40km/day, while an overland journey distance of approximately 900km would have required roughly 30km of travel per day.

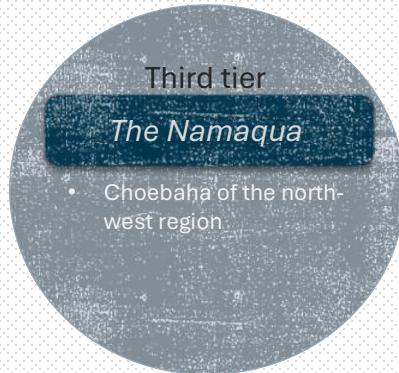


## 4.3 THE HANCUMQUA(S) / HANCUMNA(S)

1. The principal residing of the Hancumqua(s) is recorded in the early Dutch records of the mid seventeenth century as southward of the river *Vigiti Magna*—or the Sabie River / Sabi–Komati river system of Mpumalanga and Mozambique. Tirion's, c. 1730, *Kaart van het [...] Land der Hottentotten*, record of the **Heykoms Natie**—or the Hancumqua(s) nation—indicates them still prominent in the Mpumalanga–Mozambique region at the time while a significant section of them is also recorded far westward of their principal residing, and nearer the west coast of southern Namibia / north-western South Africa, as the **Hancumquas**.

*A new plan, however, still detained me, and suspended my return. I had many times heard of a brave and warlike nation, dreaded by all the savages in general of these countries: I mean that of the Houzouanas [Hancumqua(s) / Hancumna(s)]. Being neighbours to the Bushmen [San] on the east, they are often confounded with these people; but they differ from them in their disposition, language, and manners: they are, besides, a wandering tribe; and, proceeding in their emigrations from one sea to the other, they shut up, as one may say, that part of Africa, and form a barrier across its whole breadth (Le Vaillant 1796b: 31–32).*

## 4.4 THE NAMAQUA(S) / NAMANA(S)



1. Du Val's, c. 1663, *Cafrerie et Monomotapa*, placename **Gallila**—situated north to north-west of the Okavango—is inferred to indicate the principal residing of the Namaqua(s) at the time of Dutch settlement at the Cape, 1652.
2. Tirion, c. 1730, *Kaart van het [...] Land der Hottentotten*, records numerous Namaqua(s) settlements in the southern Namibia and Botswana and South African region, including a **Grootte Namaquas Natie** [Great Namaqua(s)] residing roughly in central South Africa, a **Kleine Namaquas Natie** [Little Namaqua(s)] residing southwest thereof, two further **Namaquas** residings and a **Dorp Namaquas**—or a Namaqua(s) town / village—that may or may not be one of the inferred Namaqua(s) villages near Cape Negro reported by the crew of the *Maria* in 1658.
3. Le Vaillant (1796a) recorded the Namaquas during his 1783–1785 visit as residing principally along the west coast of southern Africa with the **Great Namquois** [Great Namaqua(s)] resident in southern Namibia and the **Little Namquois** [Little Namaqua(s)] in the northern part of the Northern Cape, South Africa.

The less Nimiquas [Little Namaquas], though of a tolerable height, are not so tall as the Caffres [Zulu-Xhosa cluster] or Gonaquas [Chainouquas]. This circumstance led me to a remark, which is interesting, and I believe new: the people on the east of the southern part of Africa, of which I am speaking, are much superior to those of the west both in moral and physical qualities, while the animals are far inferior (Le Vaillant 1796a: 180).

*This altercation continued the whole way, and did not cease till we approached the kraal, when I halted to wait for and receive the chief.*

*He came to meet me attended by some women, and a great part of the men of his horde. They were all stout, near five feet and a half (five feet ten inches English) high [~1.6m], with gentle, but cold and phlegmatic countenances. Everything about the men indicated the same phlegm: their motions, gestures, and looks, were demure and frigid; and I soon perceived, on conversing with them, that this sluggish apathy existed in their thoughts and affections as well as in their exterior appearance. When anything was proposed to them, whether agreeable or not, they never answered immediately, but kept silence for some time, reflected gravely, and spoke with deliberation.*

*This tranquil and uniform character is very different from that of savages in general. It is by no means that of the Gonaquas [Chainouquas] and Caffres [Zulu-Xhosa cluster]: and what is more singular, it is strikingly contrasted by that of the women of the horde, whose lively looks indicate extreme gaiety, and who are great laughers on every occasion. I know not what local cause can have thus saddened the minds of the Greater Nimiquas [Great Namaquas]; since, if their serious melancholy be a physical quality, how happens it that the women, who are their mothers or their daughters, so strangely differs from them? (Le Vaillant 1796a: 324–325).*

# THREATS TO KHOE HISTORY AND HERITAGE

## **Education**

1. The dominant Imperialist / neo-Imperialist academic paradigm filters from university level down to basic education, resulting in KhoiSan peoples in general and the Khoe in specific—with reference to this presentation—finding it difficult to access and partake in their own histories and heritages.
2. The impact of education, as evidenced specifically in the socio-political and social media arenas, results in Khoe-KhoiSan effort to advance their cause frequently being misunderstood by their fellow South Africans (and beyond).
3. There is a need to focus on impartial archival research and oral history recording, and to bring *Khoe-KhoiSan peoples' histories* in balance with current scientific heritage studies including archaeological and biological LSA Khoe-KhoiSan (or pastoralist / herder) research.

## **Development**

1. Development poses the greatest risk to the destruction of Khoe-KhoiSan archaeological sites and resultantly the impartial incorporation of these previously marginalised and displaced histories into the scientific and public heritage record. Archaeological sites are finite, non-renewable resources—once they are destroyed any information that could have been gleaned from them are forever lost.
2. Because open-air Khoe-KhoiSan archaeological sites—the type sites that would most likely be discovered during the course of development i.e., during vegetation clearing and trenching—are typically extremely ephemeral in nature, and because no heritage specialist expertise are present, or are seldom present, on construction sites, Khoe-KhoiSan archaeological sites are destroyed, in cases because of ignorance, however, in other cases willfully so.
3. There are no suitable legislative measures—i.e., punishments and fines—in place in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act, Act No. 25 of 1999 (NHRA 1999) to address impact on or destruction of Khoe-KhoiSan archaeological sites during construction.

**Continued Imperialist / neo-Imperialist marginalisation and manipulation of Khoe-KhoiSan history and impact on or destruction of archaeological sites during development are not only Khoe heritage but also human rights concerns.**

# References

## References

1. Cavazzi, G.A. & Labat, J-B. 1732. *Historique de L'Ethiopie occidentale*. Tome II. Paris: Charles-Jean-Baptiste.
2. Deacon, H.J. & Deacon, J. 1999. *Human beginnings in South Africa. Uncovering the secrets of the Stone Age*. Cape Town & Johannesburg: David Philip Publishers.
3. Le Vaillant, F. 1796a. *New travels into the interior parts of Africa, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, in the years 1783,1784 and 1785*. Vol II. London: G.G. and J. Robinson.
4. Le Vaillant, F. 1796b. *New travels into the interior parts of Africa, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, in the years 1783,1784 and 1785*. Vol III. London: G.G. and J. Robinson.
5. Leibrandt, H.C.V. 1897a. *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. December 1651–December 1653, Part I*. Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons.
6. Leibrandt, H.C.V. 1897b. *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. January 1656–December 1658, Part II*. Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons.
7. Leibrandt, H.C.V. 1900. *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Letters despatched from the Cape, 1652–1662, Part III*. Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons.
8. Murray, R.W. 1891. *South Africa from Arab domination to British rule*. London: Edward Stanford.
9. Nienaber, G.S. 1989. *Khoekhoeense stamname. 'n Voorlopige verkenning*. Pretoria & Cape Town: Academica.
10. Noble, J. 1877. *South Africa, past and present; a short history of the European settlements at the Cape*. London: Longmans & Co.
11. Raven-Hart, R. 1976. *Travels at the Cape 1751–1753*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.
12. Theal, G.M. 1898. *Records of south-eastern Africa – collected in various libraries and archive departments in Europe*. Vol II. London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd.
13. Theal, G.M. 1910. *The yellow and dark-skinned people of Africa south of the Zambesi*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, Ltd.
14. Walker, E.A. 1922. *Historical atlas of South Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## Maps

1. Bellin, J-N. c. 1747. *Empire du Monomotapa et Etats Voisins*.
2. Du Val, P. c. 1663. *Cafrerie et Monomotapa*.
3. Tirion, I. c. 1730. *Kaart van het Zuidelykste Gedeelte van Afrika of het Land der Hottentotten*.

